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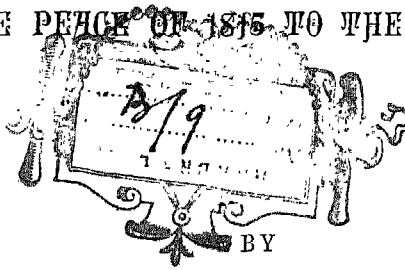




THE  
AGE WE LIVE IN:

A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.



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General F. B. Smith

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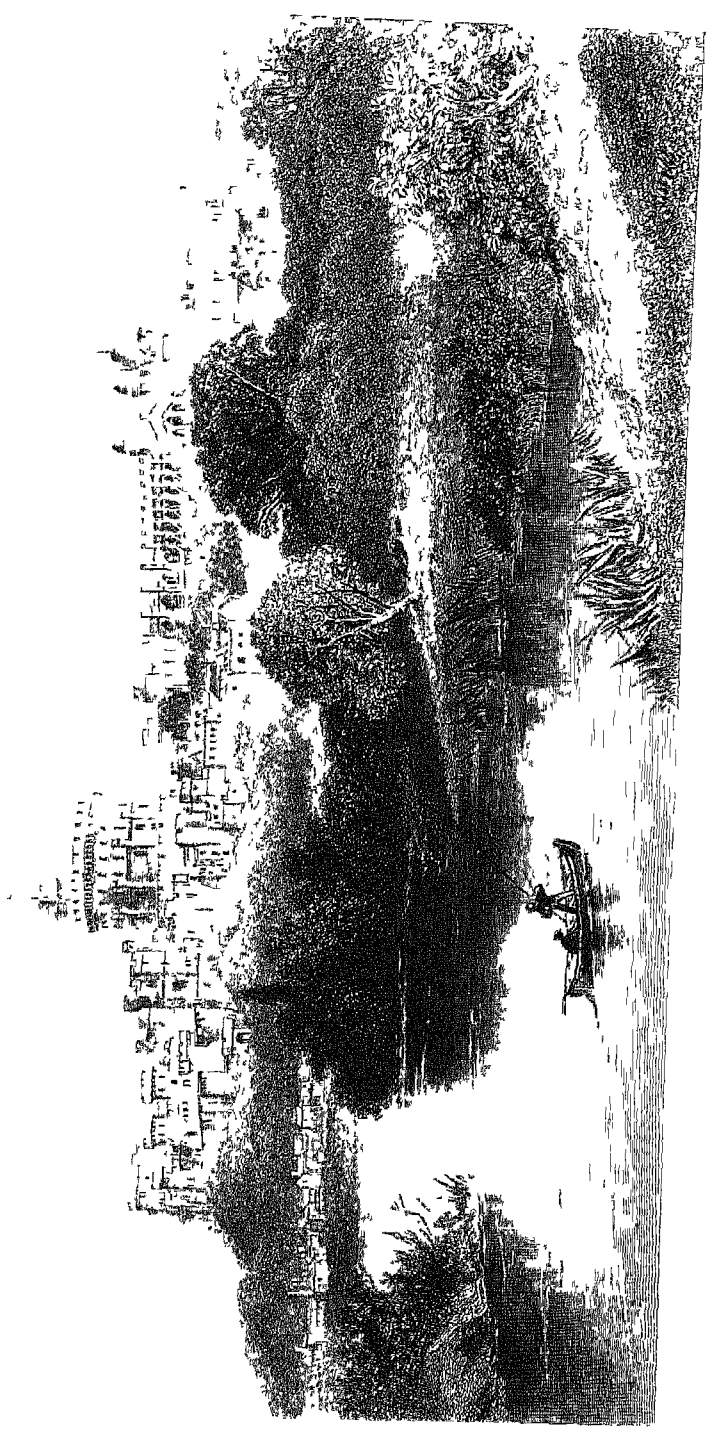


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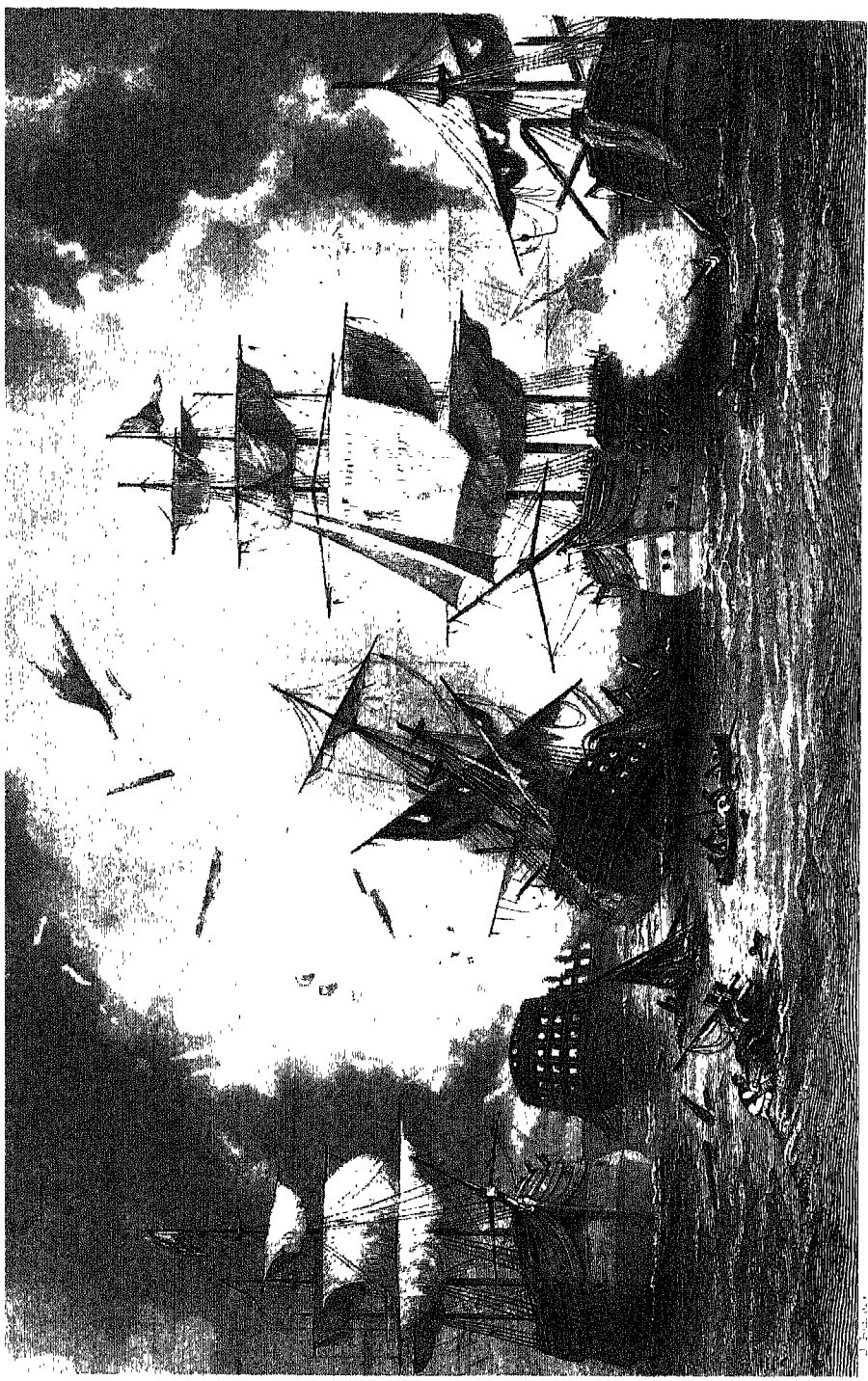








BATTLE OF NAVARINO.





# THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

Peace of Luneville—League of Armed Neutrality—Battle of Copenhagen—Battle of Aboukir—Surrender of Alexandria—Peace of Amiens—Bonaparte Elected First Consul for Life—England's Ultimatum—War Proclaimed against France—Preparations for War—Trafalgar—Napoleon assumes the title of Emperor—Austerlitz—Peace of Tilsit—Attempt to ruin British Commerce—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Surrender of Danish fleet—Blockade of European ports—Louis Bonaparte made King of Holland, Jerome, of Hanover and Hesse Cassel—Abdication of Charles IV.—Joseph Bonaparte made King of Spain—Surrender of a French Army at Baylen—Defeat of Junot at Vimiera—Retreat of Sir John Moore—Corunna—Talavera—Wagiam—Failure of Expedition against Antwerp—Busaco—Fuentes d'Oñore—Albuera—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo—Badajoz—Salamanca—France declares War against Russia—Moscow—Napoleon's Disastrous Retreat—Vittoria—St. Sebastian—Bayonne—Toulouse—Leipsic—Capitulation of Paris—Napoleon exiled to Elba—His Escape and Restoration—Quatre Bras—Waterloo—March of the Allied Armies into Paris—American War—Invasion of Canada—Peace Proclaimed.

THE war which France, on the overthrow of her monarchical system, had waged for the purpose of 'liberating the peoples' of the Continent, and compelling them by force to adopt her republican institutions, came to a close at the end of the eighteenth century; and the Peace of Luneville left Bonaparte her real ruler, under the title of First Consul, and at liberty to devote his whole energies to a decisive struggle for supremacy with Great Britain, on which his mind had for some time been set. His first step was to enter into a league of 'Armed Neutrality,' as it was called, with the northern powers, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, which would give him the command of their fleets to dispute Britain's naval supremacy. Deprived of the command of the seas, his hated rival would, he believed, be easily invaded and conquered by his veteran troops, who

had now no foe to contend with on the Continent. But the promptitude of the British ministry averted the impending danger. On the first of April, 1801, a fleet of eighteen men-of-war, commanded by Nelson, forced the passage of the Sound, appeared before Copenhagen, and at once attacked the city and the formidable fleet by which it was covered. After a desperate resistance on the part of the Danes six line-of-battle ships and eight praams were taken, and the Crown Prince was forced to conclude an armistice, engaging to suspend all proceedings under the Treaty of Armed Neutrality which Denmark had entered into with Sweden and Russia. The murder of the Russian emperor Paul, which took place nine days before the battle of Copenhagen, at once put an end to the Confederacy of the North. This triumph of

the British aims and policy was speedily followed by the overthrow of Bonaparte's scheme for an attack on India through Egypt. An army of 15,000 men, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was despatched to that country, which was still held by a powerful force under General Menou. A battle took place at Aboukir, on the 21st of March, and after a fierce and sanguinary contest victory declared in favour of the British, though saddened by the death of their gallant general. This conflict decided the fate of Egypt. Alexandria and Cairo, into which the French troops had withdrawn, were immediately invested. The latter surrendered about the end of June. Alexandria held out till the 2nd of September, and the French rule over Egypt was brought to a final close.

Bonaparte was bitterly mortified at this failure of his long-cherished scheme; but he saw clearly that the continuance of the war in such circumstances would only serve to extend and strengthen the resources of his adversary, and at the close of 1801 he entered into negotiations for peace. His overtures were promptly accepted by the British Government, and in March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens, as it was called, was concluded between Great Britain and the three allied powers of France, Spain, and Holland. France agreed to withdraw its troops from the territories of Rome and Naples, and to leave to themselves the republics it had established in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont. Britain on her part consented to restore all her conquests, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad, to acknowledge the Ionian Islands as a free republic, and to make over Malta to its old masters the Knights of St. John. Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity, and the Ottoman Porte was to recover possession of Egypt.

The close of the protracted struggle with France gave great satisfaction to the British nation, and large numbers hastened to visit a country from which they had been so long excluded. On the other hand, Frenchmen

came over in multitudes to England, and were cordially welcomed by all classes of the people. But it soon became evident that the First Consul had agreed to the peace merely for the purpose of organizing his resources to renew the struggle. His aim was to be master of the Western world, and he was well aware that it was impossible for him to attain the object of his ambition so long as the power of Britain remained unshaken. On his election as First Consul for life, feeling himself secure at home, he set about his preparations for a renewal of his aggressive schemes. He sent an expedition of 25,000 men to reduce under his power the island of St. Domingo. In direct violation of the pledges given in the treaty of Amiens he annexed Piedmont and the duchy of Parma and Placentia to France, and occupied Switzerland with a powerful army. He demanded that the British Government should expel the French exiles who had been living peaceably in England since the Revolution, and that they should punish the writers who had attacked him in the English newspapers. He was eager to obtain possession of the island of Malta, and was furious at the refusal of the British Government to surrender it till some security should be given that it would not once more be seized by the French fleet. Meanwhile armaments were preparing on the part both of France and Spain; and it was evident that Bonaparte was determined to renew his attempt to deprive Great Britain of the command of the seas, and that he had made peace merely for the purpose of obtaining time to complete his preparations for the contest. But the British ministry were at no loss to comprehend his object, and to perceive that prompt action was necessary both for the protection of their country and the defeat of Bonaparte's nefarious schemes. They therefore presented an ultimatum, demanding the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, and on its rejection by the First Consul they proclaimed war against him on the 16th of May, 1803.

Their first step was to establish a close blockade of the ports of France, so as to prevent the egress of any hostile armament, and the admission of foreign goods into that country. Bonaparte, on the other hand, seized and mercilessly plundered Hanover, and formed a camp of 100,000 men at Boulogne for the invasion of England. He collected a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats for the conveyance of his troops across the Channel, and devised a scheme for dividing the British fleet and uniting his own ships with the Spanish navy in order to crush the squadron which blockaded the French ports, and thus to allow the armament that he had collected to cross unmolested to the English coast. 'Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours,' he said, 'and we are masters of the world.' But this could not be gained. The battle of Trafalgar (21st of October, 1805), in which the great English admiral, Nelson, was killed, annihilated the French and Spanish navies, vindicated the supremacy of Britain at sea, and secured her from all danger of a French invasion.

Meanwhile, a new coalition had been formed between Russia, Austria, Naples, and Sweden, to wrest Italy and the Low Countries from Napoleon, who had now assumed the rank of Emperor of France; and Britain, as usual, had to furnish the sinews of war. But the incapacity of the Austrian general, Mack, and the promptitude and military skill of Napoleon, speedily brought the coalition to ruin: 30,000 men under Mack were compelled to surrender at *Ulm* three days before the battle of Trafalgar, and the road to Vienna was thus laid open to the enemy. On the 2nd of December the combined armies of Austria and Russia were defeated at *Austerlitz*, and Austria was obliged, in consequence, to sue for peace and abandon her allies. A few months later Napoleon fastened a quarrel on Prussia, and annihilated her army at *Jena* on the 14th of October, 1806. He then marched into Poland, to assail the last opponent on the Continent that still with-

stood his arms. The Russian forces offered a stubborn resistance to the invader, especially at *Eylau*; but the decisive victory of the French at *Friedland* in the summer of 1807 brought the Czar to consent to the Peace of *Tilsit*.

Having now established an unquestioned supremacy over the states of continental Europe, Napoleon resumed his struggle against Britain with increased hopes of success. His first step was to renew the 'Continental System,' which had broken down with the failure of the Northern League. On the 21st of November, 1806, he issued from Berlin a decree which placed the British Islands in a state of blockade, prohibited all commerce or communication with them, declared all English goods found in France, or in the territories of her allies, liable to confiscation, and closed their harbours not only against vessels coming from Great Britain, but against all that had touched at her ports.

It was soon seen that Napoleon, with all the immense resources at his command, was utterly unable to enforce this decree. He had not a single ship to carry it out; and though he stationed an army of inspectors along the coast to guard against any attempt to introduce British manufactures, their vigilance was completely baffled by the daring and energetic efforts made by the smugglers to land their contraband goods in France itself. The Dutch were naturally unwilling to aid in enforcing measures which were ruining their own trade; while the Russian and Prussian officials were induced by liberal bribes to connive at the violation of the Berlin decrees.

The harsh and cruel measures to which Napoleon had recourse in the vain hope of ruining British trade and commerce, roused a strong feeling of indignation against him throughout the Continent. No severity was spared against those in whose possession any articles of British manufacture, or that had even touched British hands, were found. The possession of English goods was, indeed,

treated as a capital crime. 'In the great trading towns a system of permanent terrorism was put in force against the merchants. Soldiers ransacked their houses; their letters were opened, and spies dogged their steps.' The inhabitants of the entire Continent were subjected through this impolitic and oppressive system to galling privations, which they bitterly resented. 'The French were themselves compelled to extract sugar from beetroot, and to substitute chicory for coffee. The Germans, less favoured by nature and less rapid in adaptation, thirsted and sulked. Even in such torpid communities as Saxony, political discontent was at length engendered by bodily discomfort. Men who were proof against all the patriotic exultation of Stein and Fichte felt that there must be something wrong in a system which sent up the price of coffee to five shillings a pound, and reduced the tobaccoist to exclusive dependence upon the market-gardener.' To crown all, even the French emperor himself found it impossible to dispense with the productions of his hated rival, and was compelled by 'the pressure of facts' to neutralize his own decree by granting an immense number of licenses. It is asserted on good authority that the French army which marched to Eylau was clad in great coats made at Leeds, and shod with shoes made at Northampton.

Napoleon was not satisfied to carry on his contest with Britain merely by his commercial system; he was still bent on an attempt to land a French army on her shores. He had secured the friendship of the Russian Czar by promising to assist him in the conquest of Turkey; and Alexander at this time not only enforced the Berlin decrees as far as possible throughout his vast dominions, but compelled Sweden, the one ally that Britain still retained on the Continent, to renounce her alliance. The fleets of Russia and Sweden were thus virtually at the disposal of Napoleon, who counted on securing in addition the Danish fleet, consisting of

sixteen sail of the line. These combined naval armaments, he confidently expected, would enable him to overthrow the naval supremacy of Britain, and to obtain the command of the 'silver streak' of the sea, which formed the main defence of the country. The British ministry had been secretly made acquainted with this design, and foiled it by prompt and decisive, though not justifiable, action. A powerful armament of twenty-seven sail of the line and 20,000 troops, fitted out ostensibly against Flushing and Antwerp, was directed in July, 1807, to proceed to the Sound and to demand the delivery of the Danish fleet into the hands of Britain under a solemn pledge that it would be restored at the end of the war. On the refusal of the Danish court to agree to this demand, Copenhagen was invested by sea and land, and after a fortnight spent in preparations, the city was bombarded for two days. The Danes, finding that further resistance was hopeless, agreed to surrender their whole fleet, which, with a great mass of naval stores, was immediately conveyed to England.

This bold though reckless and indefensible proceeding was followed up by the issue, in November, 1807, of fresh Orders in Council, which declared the whole coast of France and its allies in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound for their harbours as liable to seizure, unless they had touched at a British port. The French emperor retaliated by issuing another decree at Milan in December, declaring every vessel of whatever nation, coming from or bound to Britain or any British colony, to have forfeited its character as a neutral, and to be held subject to seizure.

The failure of his attempts to destroy the trade and commerce of Britain made Napoleon only the more resolute in carrying out his gigantic scheme of a union of the whole continent of Europe against his great rival. He changed the republic of Holland into a monarchy, and conferred its crown on his brother Louis. He transformed the electorates of Hanover and Hesse Cassel

into a kingdom, of which he made another brother, Jerome, the sovereign. He picked a quarrel with Portugal, as a step towards bringing the whole Peninsula under his control, and demanded that the court of Lisbon should detain the British resident and confiscate British property in Portugal. On their refusal he marched a French army towards Lisbon. On its approach the house of Braganza adopted the spirited measure of abandoning their European dominions and taking refuge in Brazil, and Lisbon was immediately occupied by French troops (November, 1807). Napoleon had previously made a secret agreement with the Spanish court to divide Portugal between them. He had no intention, however, of carrying out this scandalous paction. On the contrary, he had resolved to dethrone the Spanish sovereign, though he was his subservient ally, and to seize his kingdom, in the hope that by developing its resources and obtaining command of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions in Southern and Central America, as well as of the whole Peninsula, he might wrest from Britain the empire of the seas.

In pursuance of this nefarious policy he induced Charles IV., who at this juncture had abdicated the throne, and Ferdinand VII., his son and successor, to meet him at Bayonne, where they were placed in confinement and compelled to resign their claims to the Spanish crown. A French army immediately took possession of Madrid, and proclaimed Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain.

This high-handed and infamous procedure, however, ultimately proved one main cause of Napoleon's ruin. The proud-spirited and passionate Spaniards felt keenly the ignominious treatment to which they had been subjected, and rose as one man against the royal puppet thus thrust upon them. Their patriotic outburst of hostility against the French was cordially welcomed by the British Government and people, and men of all parties were united

in the opinion that 'never had so happy an opportunity existed for Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world.' 'Hitherto,' exclaimed Sheridan, 'Bonaparte has contended with princes without dignity, numbers without ardour, or peoples without patriotism. He has yet to learn what it is to combat a people who are animated by one spirit against him.' The British Cabinet immediately resolved to postpone their petty projects for operations in South America for a vigorous warfare in the Peninsula, and sent, with injudicious precipitation, supplies of money and arms to the Spanish insurgents. An armament of 10,000 men sailed in July for Spain, and offered to co-operate with the Spaniards in Galicia. It was deemed expedient, however, to direct them against the French forces in Portugal.

Meanwhile, the surrender at Baylen in July, 1808, of a French army which had invaded Andalusia greatly encouraged the patriots, and gave the first blow to the ambitious projects of the French emperor. This was quickly followed by a serious disaster to his arms in Portugal. Sir Arthur Wellesley, having landed at Mondego Bay, marched towards Lisbon, and defeated at Vimiera (21st of August) the French army under Junot, which, if the English general had been left to his own discretion, would have been completely destroyed; but through the incapacity and mismanagement of Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple, who unluckily arrived at this critical moment and replaced him, the favourable opportunity was lost, and the French obtained, by the convention of Cintra, permission to return to France on board the British ships. Sir John Moore, who now succeeded to the command of the British troops in Portugal, advanced from Lisbon to Salamanca to support the Spanish armies; but he speedily found that the impressions which had been formed in England respecting the condition of the insurgents were altogether erroneous. They were indeed fiercely hostile to the French.



but they were without supplies of arms and provisions, unaccustomed to organization, and incapable of combination. Before Moore could reach Salamanca (November 13), the Spaniards had been crushed at Burgos, and their defeat was quickly followed by the fall of Madrid. The victors marched from different points—one body under Napoleon himself—to intercept and surround the British forces, thus left without support from the Spaniards, and reduced to great straits, owing to the want of a proper supply of provisions. Moore was in consequence compelled to fall hastily back on the coast. The troops suffered great privations, during their march of 200 miles in the depth of winter, from the severity of the weather and the scarcity of supplies, hard pressed all the way by the enemy. But they did not lose a standard, or sustain a single check in action. On reaching Corunna they inflicted a signal defeat on the French under Soult (16th January, 1809), but with the loss of their gallant general, and as the result of their victory, they were enabled to embark in safety and return to England.

The cause of the Spanish patriots now seemed utterly lost. The whole of northern and central Spain was held by the French in overwhelming force, and all resistance to the invaders appeared to be at an end. But the British Government were determined to continue the struggle. They entered into a treaty of alliance with the Junta which governed Spain in the absence of its king, who was still detained a prisoner in France; and they sent 13,000 fresh troops to reinforce the British army at Lisbon. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was appointed to the command, gave it as his deliberate opinion that 'Portugal might be defended against any force which the French could bring against it.'

At this critical moment a diversion was made on behalf of the Peninsula, by a renewal of the war between France and Austria; and Napoleon was in consequence obliged to devolve the management of the

Spanish war on his generals, and to repair in person to the theatre of operations in Germany. A powerful force under Victor was threatening Lisbon from the east, while Soult was advancing against it from the north. Sir Arthur resolved to attack the latter, and, suddenly crossing the Douro, by a masterly manœuvre he drove Soult from Oporto with great loss. Then, turning southward, he compelled Victor to make a precipitate retreat. Shortly after, having effected a junction with a numerous Spanish force, the British general adopted the bold resolution to move forward towards Madrid by the valley of the Tagus. The army of Victor, however, had by this time received reinforcements, and attacked the allied British and Spanish forces at Talavera (27th of July, 1809). The battle was fiercely contested, and the losses on both sides were very heavy; but at the close the French were obliged to fall back, leaving the prestige of success with the allies. But the fruits of the victory were lost by the march of the army in the north-west of Spain, under Soult, in a direction which would soon have brought them on the rear of our forces. Sir Arthur was therefore obliged to fall back on Badajoz, where he remained in a position which covered that fortress during the rest of the year. Meanwhile serious disasters had overtaken Austria, and Vienna was a second time entered by Bonaparte. He received a severe check at Aspern, which compelled him to march into the heart of Germany, several hundred miles from the coast, with an immense body of troops. But the decisive victory which he gained at Wagram constrained the emperor of Austria once more to sue for peace, which was only granted on terms highly favourable to France.

The feeling of disappointment which the failure of Austria to shake off the yoke of France produced on the mind of the British nation was embittered by the disastrous result of an expedition despatched against Antwerp in July, consisting of

nearly forty sail of the line and 38,000 troops. It was placed under the command of the Earl of Chatham, elder brother of William Pitt, an indolent, dilatory, and inexperienced officer, totally unfit to undertake the charge of such an enterprise. It was in every way most grossly mismanaged; and, after losing a great number of men, owing to the unhealthy atmosphere of the island of Walcheren, where the troops were encamped during several months in a state of inactivity, the incapable commander returned home without accomplishing anything, except the destruction on his departure of the dockyards of Flushing.

The discredit failure of this expedition led to a quarrel and a duel between George Canning, the Foreign Secretary of the Government, and Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary for War, who was responsible for the scheme. Both of these ministers had to resign their offices, along with the Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the Government. He was succeeded in the office of premier by Spencer Perceval, 'an industrious mediocrity of the narrowest type,' while the Marquis of Wellesley took the place of Canning as foreign secretary. The Ministry was acknowledged on all hands to be weak, and few if any of its members were entitled to be regarded as far-seeing or efficient statesmen. But, though the public had become exceedingly disheartened respecting the state of matters in Spain, and the city of London had even petitioned Parliament to withdraw the British army from the Peninsula, the cabinet were resolute to continue the war.

The aspect of affairs, however, became darker and darker. Andalusia, the only province of Spain which remained independent, was invaded in 1810, and, with the exception of Cadiz, was reduced by the French. Massena, at the head of 80,000 men, was ordered by Napoleon to march upon Lisbon and 'drive the leopards into the sea.' The position of affairs seemed so desperate that Perceval

at last lost all hope of maintaining our ground in the Peninsula, and threw upon Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had been created Viscount Wellington, the whole responsibility of continuing the struggle. 'I conceive,' answered that great general, 'that the honour and interest of our country require that we should hold our ground here as long as possible, and, please God, I will maintain it as long as I can.' The position of affairs, indeed, looked very alarming. But for the preparations for his marriage to the Emperor of Austria's daughter, Napoleon would have put himself at the head of the nine powerful corps, mustering not less than 200,000 effective men, under his best generals whom he now poured into Spain with the hope of crushing his enemies at a blow. To meet the shock of this formidable array Wellington had not more than 55,000 disposable troops, independent of garrisons and detachments, and including the Portuguese levies (now 30,000 strong), who had been well-disciplined and were excellent soldiers. He had been compelled to abandon all hopes of assistance from the Spaniards; and indeed in the month of November both of the Spanish armies were defeated and almost annihilated, as Wellington said, 'through the ignorance, presumption, and mismanagement of their leaders.' The attention of the British general was, therefore, now directed to the defence of Portugal, the conquest of which was the great object of the French campaign of 1810. The Portuguese not only detested the French, but, unlike the Spaniards, they were loyal to their sovereign and had confidence in the British army and nation. They were therefore secure and effective allies of Britain, though the Government was capitious, troublesome, and inefficient; and Wellington, fully accepting the responsibility thrown upon him, expressed his conviction that, with the aid of the Portuguese troops, the country might be defended by a British force of 30,000 men. With prescient eye he had already decided upon the

proper mode of meeting the storm which was about to burst upon him, and had advised the erection in front of Lisbon of the far-famed lines of Torres Vedras, which furnished an impregnable fastness and a secure retreat, as well as a safe base of operations when he should resume the offensive. By the patriotism of the Portuguese these immense works were kept a profound secret from the French, and Wellington having thus silently made all requisite preparations, calmly took post on the Coa, and waited the approach of the enemy.

After a delay of some weeks Massena put his army in motion. His first enterprise was the siege of the frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, which surrendered on the 20th of July. He next attacked the Portuguese fortress of Almeida, which speedily surrendered in consequence of the explosion of the magazine. Having thus made his flanks and rear secure, the French general commenced his march into Portugal. As he advanced, Wellington slowly retired to his inaccessible stronghold; but for the purpose of inspiring his men, and to show to the world that his retreat proceeded neither from weakness nor fear, he deliberately halted at Busaco and offered battle. The attack of the French (on the 27th of September), though made with great gallantry, was defeated with immense loss, and having thus given his pursuers 'a knock-down blow,' the English general retired to his defences, which he entered on the 8th of October. Massena followed, expecting to find a level country all the way to Lisbon, and to see his opponent taking refuge in his ships, when to his astonishment and dismay he found himself arrested in his march by the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, which stretched from the Tagus to the sea, inclosing a mountainous country accessible only by passes that were guarded by batteries and held by our troops. The country around had been laid waste, the crops destroyed, and the villages burned, in order to deprive the enemy of all supplies on the spot; and

while the British forces, through the foresight of their commander, were enjoying the utmost comfort and abundance within their lines, the French army in front was reduced to the greatest extremities by destitution and disease. At the end of a month Massena abandoned his position, finding it impossible to penetrate the British lines, and with greatly diminished forces effected a masterly retreat to Santarem, which he occupied during the remainder of the winter, in the hope that he might be joined by the army of Soult, which was advancing from the south-east of Spain. But a long expected supply of biscuit from France having been intercepted by the guerillas, Massena was compelled to commence a retrograde movement about the beginning of March, 1811; and though closely followed and harassed by the British forces, he made good his retreat to the Portuguese frontier. Wellington immediately availed himself of the opportunity to invest the fortress of Almeida, one of the keys of Portugal. The French general, anxious to preserve this important place, retraced his steps and made a vigorous attack on the British army at a village called Fuentes d'Onore, which was repeatedly taken and retaken; but in the end the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter, and Almeida was left to its fate.

Wellington having thus successfully repulsed the invaders from Portugal in spite of the feeble support which was afforded him by the British Government, and the continued annoyance which he received from the Portuguese regency, resolved in the next campaign to carry his arms into Spain. Before, however, that he could proceed with offensive operations in that country, it was necessary to possess himself of the strong fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz. Beresford was therefore directed to commence the siege of the latter. Soult marched rapidly to its relief, but was defeated in the sanguinary battle of Albuera (16th May, 1811). Wellington himself soon after took the command of the besieging army; but the neglect of the Government

had left him without proper means for conducting such operations. He had no trained artificers, no sappers and miners, and no transport. The trenching tools snapped in the hands of the workman, and his guns were of small calibre, old-fashioned, weak, and worthless. Two unsuccessful assaults were made against Badajoz, and having learned that the whole of the French forces in the centre and south of Spain, to the number of 60,000, were advancing against him, the British general resolved to relinquish the siege, and return to the northern frontier of Portugal. He had, however, only delayed, not abandoned, his determination to obtain possession of these indispensable strongholds. Foiled by Marmont, who had replaced Massena, in an attempt to blockade Ciudad Rodrigo into submission, he resolved to carry it by assault. During the latter months of 1811 he secretly prepared a battering train and adequate stores, constructed a portable bridge, formed a commissariat waggon train, and rendered the Douro navigable forty miles higher than boats had ever before ascended it. Meanwhile Marmont, completely thrown off his guard, had dispersed his army into cantonments, when Wellington suddenly pushed his bridge across the Agueda on the 8th of January, 1812, and invested Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 19th he carried it by storm in the face of a most determined resistance, before Marmont could muster his forces.

After this sanguinary exploit, which cost him a thousand men, Wellington turned to Badajoz, which likewise fell on the 7th of April, after a siege of twenty days, before Soult, who commanded in Andalusia, could get half-way to the relief of the place. But nearly 5000 men were killed and wounded in the assault, one of the most sanguinary ever delivered.

Having thus secured his flanks and rear, Wellington at length broke up from his cantonments on the 18th of June, and advanced into Spain at the head of 40,000 men. Marmont retired as he advanced, evacuating Salamanca, and leav-

ing its forts to be captured by the British forces. He speedily, however, obtained strong reinforcements, and resuming the offensive, made a vigorous attempt to cut off his enemy from Ciudad Rodrigo. But in his manœuvring for that purpose he allowed a gap to intervene between his left wing and his centre. Wellington in a moment detected the mistake, and ordering an immediate attack, in forty minutes, as he himself said, he defeated an army of 40,000 men (22nd July). The French lost 6000 men in killed and wounded in this fierce and bloody encounter, besides nearly 7000 taken prisoners, with eleven pieces of cannon, two eagles, four standards, and a great number of ammunition waggons. The battle of Salamanca was by far the most decisive which had as yet been fought in the Peninsula. Wellington himself told a friend that he looked upon it as one of his three greatest battles, the other two being Vittoria and Waterloo. It relieved the whole south of Spain, and at once changed the character of the war.

The defeat of the French at Salamanca laid open the road to Madrid, which Wellington entered in triumph on the 12th of August. But the pressure of their common danger induced the French marshals to lay aside their jealousies, and to act in concert against their formidable adversary; and Wellington became aware that he must prepare to meet a combined attack from the forces that were rapidly concentrating from different parts of the country. He made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to obtain possession of Burgos, which he considered absolutely necessary for the security of his army. But his means were so inadequate, and the fortress was so vigorously defended, that after spending five weeks before it, he was obliged to raise the siege and retire.

It was indeed time; for the French generals were straining every nerve to bring up their forces against him from all parts of the Peninsula, and he was on the point of being crushed by a concentration of the

leaving behind him his wounded, his heavy artillery, and his stores. The tidings of Napoleon's abdication, which arrived at this juncture, terminated the Peninsular war.

The terrible calamities which had overtaken the French armies in their invasion of Russia, emboldened the nations who had suffered so severely from the domination of Napoleon to make another and more united and vigorous effort to throw off his galling yoke; and from the Oder to the Rhine, and from the Baltic to the Julian Alps, the people with one accord rose up in arms against the scourge of Europe. Prussia at once abandoned the falling cause of the French emperor. But Napoleon, with a fresh army of 200,000 men, marched in May against the allied armies of Prussia and Russia, defeated them first at Lutzen, and drove them out of Saxony, and then by a second victory at Bautzen, threw them back on the Oder. At this critical moment he was overreached, and induced to consent to an armistice, which gave his enemies time to reorganize and recruit their forces, and afforded Austria, under the guise of neutrality, an opportunity to complete her preparations to take part in the struggle against him. The terms which she proposed as a mediator between the belligerent forces having been rejected by the French emperor, Austria declared war against France, and notified officially her adhesion to the coalition, which now included Great Britain and Sweden, as well as Russia and Prussia. Attacked on all sides by overwhelming numbers, the French army, after a succession of reverses at the Katzbach, Kulm, and Donnewitz, met with a total overthrow at Leipzig, and was forced to fall back across the Rhine.

The career of Napoleon was now drawing rapidly to a close. His defeat at Leipsic completed what the Russian campaign had commenced. All Europe was in arms against him, while his veteran armies had been annihilated, and newly-raised battalions of raw recruits alone were left for the defence of France. The fabric which he had reared

at such an immense cost of blood and treasure fell to pieces at once. Germany threw off his yoke. The Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved. Hanover resumed its connection with England. Ferdinand VII. was released from his confinement, and acknowledged king of Spain. Holland was evacuated by the French troops, and passed at once under the government of the Stadtholder; and the conclusion of an armistice between Denmark and Russia lost Napoleon his last ally in the North. Even in France itself his prestige was passing away, and his power shaken. The Republicans began to intrigue against him in the capital, while the Royalists were stirring up the provinces; and even the National Assembly, though composed of his own creatures, ventured to express a hope that abuses would now be reformed, and a peace concluded on the basis of the limitation of France within the frontiers of the Rhine and the Alps.

Meanwhile 1,100,000 armed men were advancing from various points to the invasion of the French territory, while Napoleon had only 360,000 men, most of them new levies, to resist the attacks of his enemies. At no former period did the transcendent military genius of the French emperor display itself so conspicuously as in the mode in which he maintained to the last a hopeless contest, and kept his enemies at bay, inflicting upon them repeated and severe defeats. But the struggle was too unequal for even Napoleon to carry on successfully to the end. Paris capitulated on the 31st of March, and on the 11th of April he signed an abdication of his throne, and his dynasty expired.

Elba was assigned as a residence to the fallen emperor, and he landed on that island on the 3rd of May. He appeared to occupy himself entirely with plans for the improvement of his petty dominions; but throughout the autumn and winter he kept up an active correspondence with his partizans in France, and was carefully informed of the dis-

content which was excited by the foolish and unpopular proceedings of the restored Bourbon dynasty. He was, no doubt, also made acquainted with the dissensions which had already broken out among his conquerors at the Congress of Vienna, and with the resistance which Great Britain, Austria, and France had been constrained to offer to the rapacious and unprincipled demands of Prussia and Russia.

It was alleged that Napoleon had also been informed that the representatives of the negotiating powers were secretly considering the propriety of removing him from Elba and confining him in the island of St. Helena, or some other distant part of the world. This apprehension may have hastened his movements, but there can be no doubt that, in any case, Napoleon had determined to make an effort to recover his throne. On the 1st of March, 1815, he landed on the coast, near Cannes, and followed only by nine hundred men, he marched over the mountains of Dauphiné upon Grenoble and Lyons. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm, and the generals and soldiers sent against him at once went over to his side, and swelled the cortege which accompanied him in his triumphal march through France. In twenty days from the time of his landing (20th March), he took possession of the Tuilleries, from which Louis XVIII. had fled the night before to Ghent.

While the 'vultures and foxes' were quarrelling over their spoil at Vienna, they learned with surprise and alarm that the eagle had broken loose from Elba, eager for prey and vengeance. The news of Napoleon's escape from his island retreat, and his unopposed restoration to the imperial throne, came like a thunder peal on the wrangling congress. Suspending at once their selfish and discreditable contentions, they signed a new treaty of alliance on the 25th of March, pledged themselves to support Louis XVIII. on the French throne, declared Napoleon beyond the pale of the law of nations, and proceeded to

adopt vigorous measures to put down at once their formidable and dreaded antagonist.

On the 29th, the Duke of Wellington set out, at the urgent request of the allied sovereigns, to assume the command of the British and Dutch forces stationed in the Netherlands, the post of danger and honour. The Prussian army, under Marshal Blücher, was already in cantonments in that quarter. It was resolved that no attempt should be made to enter France until the arrival of the Austrian, Russian, and Bavarian armies; and meanwhile the Prussian and British contingents took up a position in front of the Belgian capital. The former occupied the country between Charleroi and Liège, and thus protected the valley of the Sambre, while the allied British and Dutch forces under Wellington had their left at Braine-le-Compte and Nivelles, their right at Ath, and their reserves in and around Brussels, thus keeping open their communications with England and Holland.

While his enemies were thus preparing to overwhelm him, Napoleon was exerting himself to the utmost to place France in an attitude of defence. By almost superhuman efforts, he succeeded within three months in collecting and equipping an army of 400,000 men. With such a force at his command, he resolved to forego the manifest advantages of a purely defensive system of warfare, which Wellington regarded as Napoleon's safest course, and to strike an immediate blow at the allied armies stationed in Belgium, in the hope that he might thus for a time paralyse the energies of the whole body of his enemies. Crossing the frontier on the 15th of June, at the head of 120,000 veteran soldiers, in the highest state of efficiency, he drove in the Prussian outposts, and, after an obstinate struggle, carried Charleroi. On receiving information of this movement, Blücher concentrated his troops at Ligny, in a very ill-chosen position, where, as Wellington predicted, they received from the French, on the 16th, a terrible beating.

Meanwhile a body of about seven thou-

sand Anglo-Netherland troops had taken up their position at Quatre Bras, which they stoutly maintained against the greatly superior numbers of the French, under Ney, till one reinforcement after another having arrived, they in turn became the assailants, drove back the enemy, and, at the close of the day, were considerably in advance of their original ground. The defeat and retreat of the Prussians, however, having made it necessary that Wellington also should retire, in order to keep open his communications with his allies, he withdrew, on the afternoon of the 17th, to a position near the village of Waterloo, which he had marked out the previous year as a place where an army could be advantageously posted. Here he resolved to await the attack of the French. He had under his command about 65,000 men of all arms, of whom only 33,000 were British; and not a few even of these were militia and young soldiers, who had never seen a shot fired in earnest. The remainder of his army, 'the worst he had ever commanded,' was made up of Brunswickers, Hanoverians, Germans, Belgians, and Dutch, who had long served under Bonaparte, were now serving against their will under another flag, and could not be induced by any means to stand the attacks of the French.

Napoleon, on the other hand, was at the head of 71,000 active troops, in the highest state of efficiency as regards equipment, discipline, and experience, all belonging to the same nation, animated by the same spirit, having unbounded confidence in their leader, and flushed with the victory which they had just gained over the Prussians at Ligny. Napoleon himself confidently believed that he would be successful in the impending contest. When he reached the eminence of La Belle Alliance, and found that the enemy, who he feared would not await his attack, had halted in its retreat, and evidently meant to give battle, he exclaimed, 'I have these English at last!'

The British general, however, had no fears as to the result. The battle, which took place on the 18th, was obstinate and sanguinary. Napoleon made several serious and unaccountable mistakes; but his troops fought with their usual bravery, and made a succession of furious attacks, now with infantry, now with cavalry, and now with both arms united, always covered in the advance with a murderous fire of artillery, on the right, the centre, and the left of their opponents. They entirely failed, however, to break the allied line. At four o'clock the first division of the Prussians, under Bulow, began to trouble the French right, and gradually gained ground round Planchenoit. At dusk Napoleon threw his last desperate stake for victory, and lost it. The memorable attack of the famous Old Guard was repulsed with great slaughter, and Wellington, perceiving that the favourable moment had at last come, ordered his whole line to advance. Nothing could withstand that steady, stern movement, led by the British general in person. The remains of the French masses threw away their arms and fled. The emperor himself turned away his horse and galloped from the field, exclaiming, 'All is lost' let those save themselves who can.' The opportune arrival of Blucher, to whom Wellington intrusted the task of pursuing the fugitives, changed the defeat of Waterloo into an irretrievable rout, and Napoleon's sun set for ever. 'History,' says M. Murel, 'cannot show two battles of Waterloo. It was not only a defeat, it was an extermination—it was the shipwreck of a people. On the 18th of June, between sunrise and sunset, the French empire expired. At eight o'clock in the morning, it stood erect with all its hopes; at nine o'clock in the evening, it was only a name and a recollection gathered with the past.'

The abdication of Napoleon, the march of the allied armies to Paris, and the capitulation and occupation of the French capital, speedily followed 'the crowning mercy' of Waterloo. The government of

Napoleon, which lasted exactly a hundred days, cost his country 600,000,000 of francs, and the loss of 60,000 soldiers. The emperor proceeded to Rochefort with the view of embarking for America; but the coast was so strictly blockaded by British cruisers, that he found it impossible to carry out his design. He was, therefore, obliged to go on board the *Bellerophon* and claim the protection of the Prince Regent. But his appeal was disregarded; and it was deemed necessary for the safety of Europe that he should be transferred to St. Helena, there to reside during the remainder of his life.

While these momentous events were taking place on the Continent, a serious misunderstanding had unfortunately arisen between Great Britain and America connected with Napoleon's Continental System. One effect of that system was to cause the transfer of goods from British to American ships, in which as neutrals they would be less liable to seizure. The injury thus inflicted on the commerce of our country made the merchant class clamour for protection, and an Order in Council was issued by the Ministry in 1807, declaring all the ports on the coast of France and her allies in a state of blockade, and any neutral vessel trading between them to be a good and lawful prize, unless it had previously touched at a British port, and paid customs duties to the British government. Neutral vessels were thus arbitrarily excluded from the coasting trade of most of Europe. America suffered severely from these measures, and she retaliated by closing her ports against the flags both of France and of Great Britain. Thus, on the one hand the two belligerent powers had each prohibited all neutral trade with its opponent, and the chief neutral state had set its seal on this prohibition by shutting itself out from all commercial intercourse with the belligerents. The French decrees, however, as we have seen, were practically unexecuted, while Britain's command of the seas enabled her to carry her orders into effect. Consequently, it was against

her that the indignation felt by the American traders was mainly directed, and this hostile feeling was strengthened by the conduct of her Government in asserting a right to seize British seamen found on board American vessels. The United States at this period took no less than ten millions annually of our goods, but the unwise and unjust policy of our Government at once closed this—the main outlet for the manufactures of Great Britain—and brought great distress and, indeed, ruin on large numbers of the commercial classes for whose benefit it was devised. At the commencement of 1809 the American Government removed the general embargo on trade with Europe, and replaced it by an Act of Non-intercourse with France and England alone. But this was found ineffectual, and was repealed in May, 1810. As the Americans had at this period neither an army nor a navy, they were obliged to submit to the injury thus inflicted on their trade and commerce; but they proclaimed that if either of the two offending powers would recall its hostile edict, it would prohibit intercourse with the other.

The Whigs were strongly opposed to the Orders in Council as both unjust in principle and most injurious to our own commercial interests; and Mr. Brougham, who took up the question with great energy and zeal, night after night, on presenting petitions complaining of the ruinous effect of these orders, and calling for their repeal, exposed their real character, and showed that they were the main cause of the prevailing distress among the manufacturing classes. He succeeded at last in carrying a motion for inquiry into the subject, and adduced evidence from competent witnesses, which convinced all intelligent and impartial persons that his allegations were well-founded. The Ministry, however, obstinately clung to their mistaken policy, in the belief that America was unable to execute her threats of revenge. 'America,' wrote Lord Sidmouth, 'is a bugbear; there



is no terror in her threats.' But that weak and shortsighted statesman speedily found that he was as completely mistaken in his estimate of the resources of America, as he was of the position and feeling of his own country. The forbearance of America was at length exhausted, and despairing of redress, her Congress, on the 18th of June, 1812, proclaimed war against Great Britain.

At this crisis the assassination of Mr. Perceval had brought about a reorganization of the Government. Lord Liverpool became prime minister; and Lord Castlereagh, the new Foreign Secretary, saw the danger to which the country was exposed through the operation of the Orders in Council, and resolved at once to avert it by their repeal. But unfortunately this judicious step came too late. The news did not reach America until six weeks after war had been declared.

Fortunately for Great Britain, her formidable continental enemy was not at this time in a condition to take advantage of the strife which his policy had kindled between two kindred nations. He commenced his disastrous march into the heart of Russia only six days after the American President, Madison, had issued his declaration of war. Peace might still have been maintained, and the American grievances redressed, if her Government had been disposed to come to terms. But they had become heated with the long-continued controversy, and embittered by the sufferings of their commercial classes, and most unjustly attributing the change in the policy of the British ministry to the dread of losing Canada, they rejected all offers of accommodation. The impartial verdict of history on the conduct of the parties responsible for this unnatural and unjustifiable war is in entire accordance with the opinions expressed by Francis Horner at the time. 'As to the American war,' he wrote to John Archibald Murray, 'the historical truth I take to be that we goaded that people into war by an unjust extension to them, while neutrals, of all the unmitigated evils of maritime war; and still more by the insulting tone of our

newspaper and government language, and that when the English nation came to its senses about the Orders in Council, and the minister was dead who had insanely made it a point of honour to adhere to them, by that time the American Government believed that the Continental System of Bonaparte had ruined the resources of this country, that he was to become lord of the ascendant, and that it was as well for them to be on the best terms with the winning side. What passed prior to the repeal of the Orders in Council may fairly be regarded now as matter of history only, and it is in that view of it that I consider the Americans as now aggressors in the war; the grounds of complaint they had we have relinquished; their pretensions against our maritime rights are matter of aggression. It is a sad thing for America that they have not had for president of their Republic, during this important epoch of their history, a man of a higher cast of talent and public sentiment than Madison; he has involved them, without necessity, in war, and has debased very much the tone which a people destined obviously for such greatness ought to maintain.'

The hostilities thus wantonly commenced were not conducted in a manner that reflected much credit on either country. The British Government neglected every precaution that common sense dictated for the protection of the Canadian frontier, and for carrying on war on the lakes, and with all their immense superiority at sea, they entirely failed to protect their national commerce. The officers whom they placed at the head of their forces proved utterly incompetent to the task assigned them, and were indebted for their promotion to court favour or aristocratic influence rather than to merit. On the other hand, the American operations by land were unskilfully planned and badly conducted, and ended in somewhat ignominious failures.

No fewer than three attempts, made by them during the summer and autumn of 1812, to penetrate into Canada, which they

seemed to think would be conquered without difficulty, were repulsed with heavy loss, and a body of 2300 Americans, regulars and militia, stationed at the fort of Detroit, were forced to surrender to their assailants. Another detachment, which in January, 1813, made an attempt to retake that fort, were also made prisoners by a British force. On the other hand, in three successive engagements between English and American frigates, the former were compelled to strike their flag. These unexpected defeats were undoubtedly owing to the great superiority both in the number of their crews and the weight of their guns on the part of the American vessels, as was shown in the victory gained by the British frigate, the *Shannon*, over the *Chesapeake*, when the two encountered (June 1, 1813) on equal terms.

In 1813 the Americans made another attempt upon Canada with a more powerful force and on a different plan of action. They took York (now Toronto), the chief town in Upper Canada, with its stores and part of the garrison, and captured a small flotilla on Lake Erie, but made no great progress in making themselves master of the country, though their invading force exceeded 20,000 men.

In 1814 Upper Canada was again invaded; but the American army, after defeating a detachment of the British forces at Chippewa in July, was itself overthrown a few weeks later, after a stubborn engagement, and compelled to take refuge within its own frontier. An enterprise on a large scale was undertaken by the British against Plattsburgh, a fortified town on Lake Champlain. But the flotilla which accompanied it was defeated and captured, and on seeing this Sir George Prevost, the English general, made a sudden retreat, much to the surprise and disappointment of the public at home. Admiral Cochrane, with a powerful fleet, sailed up the Potomac, and, after destroying a flotilla in that river, landed 4000 men, under General Ross, who drove off the force which protected Wash-

ington, and captured the city. Private property was respected by the invading army; but they burnt not only the arsenal, the dockyard, and the war-office, but the hall of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the residence of the President, and even the bridge across the Potomac. This act of Vandalism, which has been universally condemned, was perpetrated under strict orders from the Government at home. A similar attempt on Baltimore, in which General Ross was killed, proved unsuccessful. Unimportant expeditions were directed, one against Alexandria, on the Potomac, another against the American stations adjoining the British province of New Brunswick, and were attended with success. But an enterprise undertaken on a much larger scale, against New Orleans, proved a disastrous failure. An American force, under General Jackson, posted in a most advantageous position, repulsed the assailing troops with the loss of 2000 men killed and wounded, including three principal officers. The capture of Fort Mobile was the last operation of the British by land, and their final exploit at sea was the capture of the American frigate *President*, of fifty-four guns and 490 men.

Both parties, however, had now become desirous to bring to a close a war in which neither had reaped any profit or honour. The close of the long contest with Napoleon had left Great Britain free to throw her whole strength into the struggle with America, and the war party in the United States were now sensible of the danger of continuing the contest, to which a powerful body, especially in Massachusetts, had been from the first strongly opposed. In Britain, on the other hand, the war had all along been unpopular, and the opposition to its continuance was daily gathering strength. In this state of affairs it was not difficult to negotiate a peace, which was finally concluded at Ghent on the 24th of December, 1814, on terms which, as had happened sometimes before, left the original causes of the quarrel wholly untouched.

## CHAPTER II.

Territories

Liverpool—Viscount Sidmouth—*Charles Bragge*

Ponsonby—George Tierney—Henry Brougham—Francis Horner—Sir Samuel Romilly—William Wilberforce.

THE battle of Waterloo sealed the downfall of Napoleon, reinstated the Bourbon dynasty on the throne of France, stripped that country of all its conquests, and restored peace to Europe. But the great Powers, who had called a million of men to arms for the purpose of resisting the incessant attacks of the French emperor on the territories of other sovereigns and restoring the balance of power in Europe, quarreled among themselves as soon as their common enemy was overthrown, and were on the eve of turning their arms against each other. Prussia, with its hereditary unprincipled greed, was bent on annexing Saxony; Russia was equally determined on the total subjugation of Poland; and these two powers made common cause in their efforts to secure possession of these coveted territories. On the other hand, the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, and France, at the Congress of Vienna, were united in demanding the independence of Poland and the restoration of the kingdom of Saxony to its native monarch. The schemes of spoliation entertained by Russia and Prussia had become so glaring and dangerous, that on the 3rd of February, 1815, while Napoleon was still at Elba, a secret treaty was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and France, by which they engaged to act in concert, each with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, to carry into effect the provisions of the Treaty of Paris; convinced that the powers who had to complete the dispositions of that treaty ought to be maintained in a state of security and perfect independence, and holding it necessary, in consequence of pretensions

recently manifested, to look to the means to resist every aggression. The sudden escape of Napoleon from Elba, and his return to Paris, put an end for a time to the discreditable intrigues and selfish schemes of Russia and Prussia; but as soon as peace was restored by the victory of the allies at Waterloo, the attempts on the part of these two powers to increase their own territories at the expense of their neighbours were resumed. The ultimate result was that Russia was allowed by the Congress to seize the kingdom of Poland with four millions of inhabitants, while Prussia obtained one-half of Saxony and a part of the Duchy of Warsaw, with a million of people. Austria, too, gained largely from the spoils of the French empire. It is true that she lost the Netherlands, which were united to Holland; but she was recompensed for her cession of Belgium by the acquisition of Venice, Lombardy, Illyria, Dalmatia, and some other minor acquisitions, which carried her frontier to the Alps and made her mistress of the Adriatic. The kingdom of Italy created by Napoleon, with its six millions of inhabitants, was broken up and divided among various powers. Genoa was annexed to Sardinia; Tuscany and Modena were handed over to Austrian archdukes; the States of the Church were re-established under papal rule; Naples and Sicily were compelled to receive back their Bourbon autocrats; and, finally, Norway was united, much against her inclination, to Sweden.

France was not only stripped of all her conquests and driven back into her old boundaries, but she was compelled to pay

by gradual instalments the sum of seven hundred millions of francs as an indemnity for the past; and, as a guarantee for the future, to submit to the presence of an army of occupation for a term of years, supported at her expense and garrisoning her fortresses, under the command of the Duke of Wellington. 'The second peace of Paris,' says Metternich, 'differed from the first only in this, that the Powers desired to teach France a lesson by taking away some places on the frontier; by restoring to foreign countries the art treasures seized in the wars of the Revolution; by imposing a contribution; and by the temporary occupation of some of the departments in order to secure internal peace and the safety of the ancient throne of France.' Great Britain alone declined to ask or receive any share of the spoils of the fallen despot, or to plead the enormous sacrifices she had made to bring about his downfall, as an excuse for aggrandizing herself at the expense of weaker powers. 'So silly a treaty,' said Napoleon at St. Helena to O'Meara, 'as that made by your ministers for their own country was never known before. You give up everything, and gain nothing.' The disinterested policy of Great Britain at this juncture presented, indeed, a marked contrast to that pursued by the great continental powers, and was incomprehensible to a man like Napoleon, who was the very incarnation of selfishness. It redounded greatly, however, to the honour of our country, and contributed not a little to increase its moral influence with other nations that, instead of seeking compensation for her lavish disbursement of loans and subsidies, she demanded from France nothing but the immediate abolition of the infamous slave trade, and from the other high contracting powers a declaration that they would concert, without loss of time, 'the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious.'

The continental sovereigns, delivered from the despotic and irresistible control of the French emperor, apparently thought that

they might with perfect impunity return to the arbitrary system of government which they had wielded before the outbreak of the French Revolution. They disposed of the territories of the smaller states at their pleasure, and evidently never for a moment deemed it necessary to consult the wishes of the people whose fate for the time was at their disposal. In their estimation the people were only born to be governed, or in the words of a celebrated republican, they seem to have imagined that the masses came into the world ready bridled and saddled, and that themselves were destined by the will of heaven to mount the saddle and to check, or stimulate, or guide them with bridle and whip and spur at their pleasure. The War of Liberation was a noble and touching episode that history records on the part of the people; but they were recompensed by the most disgraceful treachery on the part of their sovereigns. The people rose in arms, and shed their blood like water, not only that they might deliver their country from the yoke of the French despot, but that they might, in the shape of constitutional freedom and liberty of the press, obtain the deliverance which was promised them from the arbitrary domination of their own rulers. They were, however, cruelly disappointed. No sooner did the sovereigns find themselves secure on their thrones, strengthened as these thrones had been by the sacrifices of blood and treasure made by their subjects, than they set about the restoration of their old arbitrary and oppressive forms of government, and the invidious and unjust class distinctions, which were so injurious to the rights of the common people. The time of retribution, though long delayed, came at last, though sooner than was expected by Prince Metternich, prime minister of the Emperor of Austria, and the very incarnation of the system of despotism which he did so much to organize and maintain. He was so well aware of its instability, and foresaw so clearly its ultimate overthrow, that he frequently gave utterance to the well-known

remark, 'After me the deluge.' But he lived to see the utter destruction of his own handiwork, and the thrones which he had propped up by the bayonets of half a million of armed men topple over like a house of cards; while the Emperor of Austria was driven from his capital, and Metternich himself had to take refuge in England.

No apprehensions of changes or reverses, however, entered the minds of the men—'the paltry creatures,' Gentz terms them, 'who govern the world,' and were now busily engaged in reconstructing the map of Europe. The rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia entered into a treaty of 'Holy Alliance,' as they termed it, in which they solemnly engaged to 'remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity; and that considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will on all occasions and in all places lend each other aid and assistance.' Prince Metternich, however, designates this famous treaty a 'loud-sounding nothing,' a union of religious and political-liberal ideas, developed under the influence of Frau von Krudener and Monsieur de Bergasse over the Emperor Alexander. The original draft, he says, presented to him by the Czar, was nothing more than a philanthropic aspiration clothed in a religious garb, which supplied no material for a treaty between the monarchs, and which contained many phrases that might even have given rise to religious misconstructions. His views of the projected treaty, he says, coincided with those of the Emperor Francis, and when the document was shown to the king of Prussia he expressed a similar opinion regarding it. In consequence of this agreement of opinion, Metternich was charged by both monarchs to go to the Emperor Alexander as their common representative, and to submit to him their views. In a conversation of several hours he succeeded, not without great difficulty, in persuading the author of the document of the necessity of changing several sentences and omitting some passages entirely. 'This,' he adds,

'is the history of the "Holy Alliance," which, even in the partial feeling of its originator, had no other object than that of a moral demonstration, whilst in the eyes of the other persons concerned, the document had no such meaning, and therefore does not deserve the interpretation which was afterwards put on it by party spirit.' 'The most unanswerable proof,' he avers, 'of the correctness of this statement exists in the circumstances that never afterwards did it happen that the "Holy Alliance" was made mention of before the cabinets, nor, indeed, could have been mentioned. Only the parties hostile to the monarchs used it as a weapon for the calumination of the purest intention of their opponents. The "Holy Alliance" was not an institution to keep down the rights of the people, to promote absolutism or any other tyranny. It was only the overflow of the pietistic feeling of the Emperor Alexander, and the application of Christian principles to politics.' Whatever may have been the real motives which induced the two emperors and the king of Prussia (all three, as Gentz remarks, noted for their 'mediocrity and ineptitude') to enter into this 'Holy Alliance,' it was generally regarded at the time and long after as a confederacy of the absolute Powers of the Continent against the rights and liberties of their subjects; and their refusal to fulfil their promises to grant constitutional privileges to their own people, and the mode in which they employed their arms to overthrow the Spanish constitution adopted by the Cortes with the approval of the king, and to support the petty rulers of the Italian duchies in their arbitrary and oppressive proceedings, showed that the general opinion as to their policy was well founded.

The ministers who at this juncture held the reins of power in Great Britain were not unnaturally elated at the triumph of the British arms at Waterloo, and the downfall of the formidable adversary who had so long threatened the security of their own country, and employed his absolute power

over the nations of the Continent to injure British commerce. These ministers had, in reality, no great title to the credit which they claimed in bringing this protracted conflict to a prosperous termination. But they seemed to have imbibed something of the spirit of the continental sovereigns with whom they had acted in concert, and to have resolved, as far as possible, to carry out a similar policy. They were soon made to feel that they had made a great mistake, both as regarded their own ability and the general feeling of the country.

The head of the Government was Robert Banks Jenkinson, second earl of Liverpool, a nobleman of highly respectable character, but of moderate abilities. He had passed the greater part of his life in the service of the public. In 1793, when he was only twenty-three years of age, he was appointed a member of the India Board, and since that time he had held under successive ministries the offices of Master of the Mint, Foreign Secretary, Home Secretary, and Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. He became prime minister on the death of Mr. Perceval in 1812; but no one regarded him as the real head of the cabinet, or the main-spring of its policy. He was a sensible speaker and a good man of business; but he had no pretensions to the character of a great statesman, and no claim to the merit either of conducting the war or prescribing the terms of peace. He had no sympathy with popular claims or wishes, but employed all his influence to preserve unaltered the constitution as it existed. No repressive law was abolished, no popular change was accomplished at his own instance, during his long administration. But the authority of the executive was greatly and needlessly strengthened, the obnoxious Six Acts were passed, and arbitrary measures adopted to repress popular discontents during his tenure of office.

The important post of Home Secretary was at this time held by Viscount Sidmouth, another and even inferior mediocrity, though

he had for twelve years filled the Speaker's chair in the House of Commons, and had for three years—from 1801 to 1804—held the office of prime minister. But the two members of the ministry who had the greatest weight within the cabinet and in Parliament were the Chancellor, Lord Eldon, and Lord Castlereagh, the leader of the House of Commons. Lord Eldon had held his high office, with the exception of an interval of a single year, since 1801, and retained it till 1827—a period quite unprecedented in judicial history. He sat in the cabinet as Chancellor with five prime ministers, and was throughout the mainspring of their domestic policy. He was universally admitted to be a most accomplished and excellent judge and a profound lawyer, remarkably painstaking and industrious in the discharge of his duties, and anxious to do justice. Unfortunately for his own reputation and the interests of suitors, his hesitation to give judgment led to enormous arrears, till the business of his court became hopelessly encumbered with the vast accumulation of undecided cases; and the ruinous delays of the Court of Chancery became a standing byword and a reproach. It was admitted, however, even by those who most severely blamed the chancellor's dilatory habits, that they did not arise from indolence or negligence, but from excessive caution, and an earnest desire to consider each case in all its bearings before pronouncing judgment. He was possessed of genial manners and a cheerful affectionate disposition, which endeared him to his family and his friends; but he insisted on maintaining the extreme penalty of death for the most trivial offences which, now-a-days, would be thought deserving of no higher punishment than a few weeks' imprisonment. He resisted to the utmost every attempt to remove any public abuse, or religious disability, or commercial restriction, or to intrust any share of political power to the great body of the people. He was the mainstay of the extreme Tory party in the ministry and the country, and to him more than to any other man was

owing the dogged resistance of the Government to every proposal for the reform of the representative system, and the extension of equal rights and privileges to all sects and classes. It has been justly remarked that Lord Eldon 'confounded every abuse that surrounded the throne or grew up within the precincts of the altar with the institutions themselves, and was alike the determined enemy of all who would either invade the institution or extirpate the abuse.'

Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the representative of the Government in the Lower House, was the eldest son of the first Marquis of Londonderry, and had been the chief instrument in carrying through the Union of Ireland with Great Britain. His intellect was narrow and his education imperfect; but he was possessed of great courage and resolution, as well as of untiring industry. He was, as Sir Walter Scott remarks, 'a man of sense, presence of mind, and fortitude, which carried him through many an affair of critical moment when finer elements would have stuck in the mire. He had been indifferently educated; and his mode of speaking being far from logical or correct, he was sometimes in danger of becoming almost ridiculous, in despite of his lofty presence, which had all the grace of the Seymours (his maternal ancestors), and his determined courage.' His reputation as an administrator did not stand high; and the Walcheren expedition, for which he was responsible, was from first to last grossly mismanaged, and not only wasted a large amount of blood and treasure, but brought ignominy on the British arms. The triumphant campaigns of Wellington in the Peninsula had by this time, however, obliterated the recollections of Walcheren, and Lord Castlereagh's influence in Parliament was now at its height. His intellectual endowments were not of a high order, his policy was generally believed to be of an arbitrary character, and his parliamentary oratory though fluent was disjointed in argument, and his half-formed sentences, proverbial awkwardness of expression, and

confusion of metaphor, were the constant theme of the raillery of Moore and other satirists. But in spite of these defects Lord Castlereagh's irreproachable private character, consistency, intrepidity, and firmness of purpose, gave him great weight both in the country and in the House, and enabled him to hold his ground against the powerful debaters of the Opposition.

The other members of the cabinet, Vansittart, Bathurst, and Pole, who had seats in the House of Commons, added little weight to the Government. 'I look on Bathurst, Vansittart, Robinson, and Pole as nothing,' wrote Mr. Wilbraham to Lord Colchester. 'Van. does not speak much but upon his own business. Bathurst is not much listened to, and is conscious of it. Pole rarely speaks, but when he does it is always in a passion; and as to Robinson, he seems to do nothing but occasionally answer a question on trade. It is therefore cruel of the Opposition (as Walter Scott once told Morritt) to plague "poor dumb creatures."' Vansittart, who filled the important office of Chancellor of the Exchequer for eleven years, was not fitted, either by his talents or his financial knowledge, to preside over the finances of the country at this critical period. He had no perception either of what taxes might properly be abolished, or which should be continued or imposed. Hence his rule at the exchequer is associated only with a futile attempt to retain obnoxious imposts which the Parliament and the country would no longer tolerate. He was an ineffective debater, and had no weight in the House:—

'Vansittart, Vansittart, for little thou fit art.'

wrote a contemporary satirist, and posterity has indorsed the opinion.

Charles Bragge Bathurst, who was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, had held in succession the offices of Treasurer of the Navy, Secretary of War, and Master of the Mint. 'Brother Bragge,' as Canning styled him, was indebted for his success in life

largely to his marriage with the sister of Lord Sidmouth, whom the witty statesman calls upon, along with 'Brother Hiley,' to cheer, when he 'hobbled vilely' and his 'faltering spirits flagged.' But Perceval affirmed that Bathurst was a man of sterling worth as a man of business as well as a gentleman. His feebleness and inefficiency in debate, however, rendered him of little use to the Government. Frederick Robinson, who occupied the situation of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, was a weak, good-natured man, who owed his position to the fact that he was the son of Lord Grantham, rather than to his abilities or attainments. Yet, strange to say, he was afterwards promoted to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ultimately became prime minister on the death of Canning. Lord Palmerston, Peel, and Huskisson filled subordinate offices in the administration, and a long time elapsed before any of the three obtained admission into the cabinet.

The Opposition were at this time not only a small minority in Parliament, but they were not at one respecting the policy which ought to have been pursued towards Napoleon—one section opposing the renewal of the war on the return of the French emperor from Elba, the other contending that it was impossible to maintain peace with Bonaparte. Earl Grey was at the head of the former, Lord Grenville was the leader of the anti-Gallican section of the party. This distinguished statesman, the ablest member at this period of the celebrated and influential family of the Grenvilles, had held office for a number of years as one of the Secretaries of State in the ministry of his kinsman, Mr. Pitt, along with whom he quitted office in 1801 rather than abandon Catholic emancipation. But when that great statesman was recalled to the head of affairs in 1804, Lord Grenville peremptorily refused to resume office, unless a ministry should be formed wide enough to include Mr. Fox and some other members of the Whig party.

Pitt himself was anxious that Fox should be admitted into the cabinet; but in deference to the feelings of the king, he submitted to the exclusion of the great Whig leader. Lord Grenville, on the other hand, was of opinion that the king should be compelled to give in to the wishes of the prime minister and of the country. A separation thus took place between these two statesmen, and the breach was never healed. After the death of Pitt, Lord Grenville became the chief of the ministry of 'All the Talents,' which carried the abolition of the slave trade, and were dismissed from office because they refused to bind themselves not to press the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities on their narrow-minded though conscientious sovereign. There can be no doubt that Lord Grenville's firm adherence to his principles in regard to the Catholic question alone prevented him from holding the office of prime minister of Great Britain during, at the least, twenty years of his life. As the head of the Whig party he had rendered most valuable service to the cause of constitutional freedom, 'not more,' says Lord Brougham, 'by his natural abilities, which were of a very high order, sound judgment, extraordinary memory, an almost preternatural power of application, and by the rich stores of knowledge which these eminent qualities had put him in possession of, than by the accidental circumstances in his previous history and present position; his long experience in office, which had tried and matured his talents in times of unexampled difficulty; his connection with Mr. Pitt, both in the kindred of blood and of place, so well fitted to conciliate the Tory party, or at all events to disarm their hostility and lull their suspicions; above all, the well-known and steady attachment of himself and his family to the principles and establishment of the Church of England.

'The endowments of this eminent statesman's mind were all of a useful and commanding sort—sound sense, steady memory, vast industry. His acquirements were in



the same proportion valuable and sterling—a thorough acquaintance with business in its principles and details; a complete mastery of the science of politics, as well theoretical as practical; of later years a perfect familiarity with political economy and a just appreciation of its importance; an early and most extensive knowledge of *classical literature* which he improved, instead of abandoning, down to the close of his life; a taste formed upon these chaste models, and of which his lighter compositions in Greek and Latin verses bore testimony to the very last. His eloquence was of a plain, masculine, authoritative cast, which neglected, if it did not despise ornament, and partook in the least possible degree of fancy, while its declamation was often equally powerful with its reasoning and its statement.' It was universally admitted, however, that Lord Grenville's manners were somewhat haughty and reserved, and that his firmness was apt to degenerate into obstinacy—defects which detracted from his popularity, though they did not greatly diminish his influence among his brother peers.

Lord Grey was the leader of the more advanced section of the Whigs. He was four years younger than Lord Grenville, and unlike him, had been a reformer from his entrance into public life as member for Northumberland, before he had attained the age of twenty-one; and his long career, from its commencement to its close, was one of unswerving consistency and unblemished integrity. He supported Mr. Pitt's proposals for parliamentary reform, and with the support of that minister brought the question before the House of Commons in 1792 and 1793. Four years later he introduced a measure for the enfranchisement of copy-holders and of lease-holders in counties, and for establishing household suffrage in boroughs, which, mainly in consequence of the opposition of Mr. Pitt, was rejected by a large majority. Lord Grey's name was henceforth identified with the cause of Reform; but as he was con-

tinually in opposition, with the exception of the brief period during which the Whigs were in office in 1806, his efforts on its behalf were constantly defeated by the dense phalanx of obstructive ministerialists. His unwearied labours in support of liberal principles were not limited to the question of parliamentary reform. Though both the sovereign and the legislature were opposed to him, and the great mass of the people were indifferent, he persisted in the thankless task of resisting the reactionary and arbitrary measures of the Government. While frankly admitting that France 'groaned under a furious tyranny, to which the dominion of Nero and Caligula was preferable,' he strove on every opportunity to bring to a close the war between Great Britain and that country. He made an earnest, though of course fruitless attempt, in 1794, to obtain an inquiry into the conduct of the ministry in bringing foreign troops into the country without the consent of Parliament. He resisted the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the bill of 1796 to restrain public meetings; and he exposed in glowing terms the wasteful expenditure of the Government and their unconstitutional conduct in applying public money to other purposes than those to which it had been voted by the House of Commons. But all his motions, though supported by facts which were undeniable and by most conclusive arguments, were rejected by overwhelming majorities. In November, 1807, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the peerage, and in conjunction with Lord Grenville led the opposition in the House of Lords. Repeated overtures were made to these distinguished statesmen to join the administration in 1809 and 1810; but the offers were unhesitatingly rejected. After the tragical death of Mr. Perceval in 1812, Lords Grenville and Grey were requested by the Prince Regent to undertake the formation of a new ministry, but in such circumstances and under such restrictions as to show that the proposal was not sincere, and it was at once declined.

Though apparently excluded permanently from office, Earl Grey's reputation for unblemished honour, integrity, and consistency, as well as his eminent abilities, gave him great weight in the country and made him a most efficient leader of the Liberal party.

In the House of Commons the Whig party had a number of representatives possessed of great ability and eloquence as well as long experience in public affairs. At this period they had the misfortune to lose one of their most prominent and influential adherents, Samuel Whitbread (brother-in-law of Earl Grey), a wealthy brewer, who had long taken an active part in public affairs. He was not a profound thinker, and was not well informed either upon the foreign concerns of the country or on the principles of domestic legislation. Though he was, in reality, a kind-hearted man, his earnestness and vehemence in debate gave an appearance of bitterness to his attacks on the leading members of the Government, which he was far from cherishing. 'He was a rough speaker,' said Wilberforce; 'he spoke as if he had a pot of porter at his lips and all his words came through it.' He was, however, one of the most conspicuous and useful members of his party; and was the only one of its leaders who had an eminent capacity for business. Lord Grey, his brother-in-law, used to say that he worked harder than any of his own dray-horses. He conducted with great ability the impeachment of Lord Melville in 1803 (a task involving an enormous amount of labour), of which he was appointed chief manager by the House of Commons. 'He was the very model of that sort of public men bred in the House of Commons, and the native growth of that soil whose proper function is to keep our statesmen to their duty.' But to his credit be it said, his exertions were not confined to assailing administrative abuses or to pressing organic changes. The much needed reforms which he effected in prisons and lunatic asylums at a time when the public attention could with diffi-

culty be drawn to them, is even more honourable to him than his vindication of popular rights. He was a man of sincere piety, amiable and benevolent in his disposition, and irreproachable in private life. He was fearless as well as assiduous in the discharge of his duties; and though, like the most of his party, long opposed to carrying on hostilities with France and to the new policy of the ministry, he had the candour to acknowledge the wisdom of Wellington's strategy in the Peninsula, and to urge, in 1814, the Government to put forth the whole strength of the country in order to bring the contest to a successful conclusion. He was indeed a genuine patriot, and no one ever loved his country more cordially, or more prided himself in all its honours and glories. Horner, who knew him well, said, 'As a statesman I never regarded him at all; he had no knowledge of men or affairs to fit him for administration; his education had been very limited, and its defects were not supplied by any experience of real political business; but he must always stand high in the list of that class of public men—the peculiar growth of England and of the House of Commons—who perform great services to their country, and hold a considerable place in the sight of the world by fearlessly expressing in that assembly the censure that is felt by the public, and by being, as it were, the organ of that public opinion which in some measure keeps our statesmen to their duty. His force of character and ability, seconded by his singular activity, had, in the present absence of all men of genius and ascendancy from the House, given him pre-eminence which almost marks the last years of Parliament with the stamp of his peculiar manners. It will be long before the people and the constitution are supplied in the House of Commons with a tribune of the same vigilance, assiduity, perseverance, and courage, as Samuel Whitbread.'

The nominal leader of the Opposition was George Ponsonby, a grandson of the Earl of

Beshorough by a daughter of the Duke of Devonshire. He had led the Opposition in the Irish parliament; had held the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland under the 'Talents' administration; and when Lord Howick, in 1807, was removed to the House of Peers, he was invested with the leadership of the Whig party in the Commons. 'He was a very honest man,' said one of his associates, 'had many excellent qualities, and possessed very considerable talents; but he was by no means fit for the situation which he occupied, that of leader of the party of opposition.' A clever squib, written by Lord Palmerston, gave an account of the alleged trial of Henry Brougham, who was found guilty of calling Mr. Ponsonby an old woman. But though Brougham thought fit to say that Ponsonby was the least eminent man that ever filled such a situation, he was in reality, what his accuser was not, a safe leader, prudent and temperate, and of fidelity to his word, as well as a respectable debater. 'His language and manners were those of a gentleman; and disdaining a flowing and figurative diction, he only aimed at stating arguments fully and forcibly, in which he often succeeded.'

The real, though not ostensible leader of the Whig party in the Lower House at this time was George Tierney. As Speaker Abbot wrote in 1810, 'Ponsonby is reinstated in the nominal lead of the Opposition, but Tierney is the efficient man on that side.' He had now been twenty years in Parliament, and had earned for himself the reputation of an excellent man of business, a skilful financier, and a ready and powerful debater. When Fox and his friends most injudiciously seceded from Parliament in 1798, on finding themselves constantly outvoted by the ministerial retainers, Tierney took the lead in opposition to Pitt's war and financial policy, and by his courage, assiduous attention to business, and debating powers, proved himself a very formidable antagonist to the ministry. He was Treasurer of the Navy in 1803 under Addington, who used to say that 'there was no one whose

parliamentary talents he loved more than Tierney's, as he always expressed his meaning in the clearest manner, and said neither more nor less than he intended.' On the death of Mr. Fox in 1806 Tierney was appointed President of the Board of Control, an office which he of course resigned the following year on the dismissal of the administration. He should undoubtedly have succeeded to the lead of the Whig party on the death of Mr. Fox, but the aristocratic dislike of the Whig notables for new men made them unwilling to submit to the leadership of the son of a Spanish merchant. He continued to act with the Opposition, however, though on one or two occasions he disapproved of their policy. He was an excellent committee man; a clear and accurate calculator; had an intimate knowledge of political economy, a subject little studied at that time, which enabled him to discuss with great effect questions of finance; and was a most formidable debater. 'From the moment he opened his mouth,' says Lord Brougham, 'till he sat down, the attention of his hearers never flagged for one moment. In a style which never rose above the colloquial the most cutting sarcasms, level to the most ordinary understanding, escaped from him as if he were himself unaware of their terrible effect. His sneer was withering. Of all the speakers, contemporaries of Mr. Tierney, no one was so much dreaded as he was. His irony was inimitable. His manner and intonation added greatly to the effect of what he said. It was the conversation of a shrewd, sagacious man of the world, who delivered his observations on the subject under discussion with an apparent candour, which contrasted singularly with the knowing tone and look of the speaker.'

Henry Brougham, a statesman of far greater abilities than any of the leaders on either side of the House, and a more eloquent debater, was returned as member for the borough of Camelford in 1810, but had failed to obtain a seat on the dissolution of Parliament in 1812. We shall meet him again

when he reappears in his place, the advocate of parliamentary reform, of the abolition of the slave trade, of religious disabilities, of restrictions on trade and commerce, and of all the gross abuses which at this time flourished both in church and state. Meanwhile his position in regard to all these great questions was supplied by Francis Horner, like himself an Edinburgh Reviewer, and a great authority on all questions of political economy and finance. The reputation which Horner early acquired for great ability, remarkable industry, and extensive acquirements, attracted the notice of the Whig leaders, and one of them (Lord Kinnaird) brought him into Parliament in 1804. He there devoted special attention to financial and economical questions. His opinions respecting the currency, free trade, and other kindred questions, were remarkable for the vast knowledge and enlightened liberality which they displayed, and are now universally recognized as the true principles of commercial legislation. In 1810 the House of Commons marked its sense of Mr. Horner's financial ability and extensive information by placing him at the head of the Bullion committee. He drew up the first part of the report, and it was mainly through his exertions that the currency of the country was placed on a proper basis. Young as he was, and with no advantages of rank, fortune, or aristocratic connections, he already possessed great weight in the House, and his reputation was steadily increasing when enfeebled health compelled him to withdraw to a milder climate in the autumn of 1816, and he died at Pisa early in the following year. His untimely removal was lamented as a great national calamity; and when a new writ was moved for the borough of St. Mawes, which Mr. Horner represented in Parliament, leading members on both sides of the House—Lord Morpeth, Mr. Canning, Mr. Mannors Sutton, Mr. Wynn, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Charles Grant, and Lord Lascelles—dilated in most feeling terms on his sound principles, his enlarged views, his varied, extensive, and

accurate knowledge, his sound and clear judgment, his grave and forcible eloquence, his independency of mind, the purity of his private life, his conscientious adherence to the dictates of duty, and the singular modesty with which he bore his faculties, and which shed a grace and lustre on them all. Romilly, especially, spoke of Horner's eloquence as being not merely calculated to excite admiration and vulgar applause, but as ennobled and sanctified by the great and virtuous ends to which it was uniformly directed—the protection of the oppressed, the enfranchisement of the enslaved, the advancement of the best interests of the country, and the enlargement of the sphere of human happiness. Sir James Mackintosh, noticing this remarkable tribute to Horner's merits, says, 'a Howard introduced and an English House of Commons adopted the proposition of thus honouring the memory of a man of thirty-eight, the son of a shopkeeper, who never filled any office, or had the power of obliging a living creature, and whose grand title to this distinction was the belief of his virtue.'

The beautiful and touching tribute which Sydney Smith, who was one of Horner's most intimate friends, paid to the memory of this noble-minded man too early lost, is equally creditable to both.

'There was something,' wrote the large-minded Canon, 'very remarkable in his countenance; the Commandments were written on his face. I have often told him there was not a crime he might not commit with impunity, as no judge or jury who saw him would give the smallest degree of credit to any evidence against him; there was in his look a calm settled love of all that was honourable and good—an air of wisdom and of sweetness; you saw at once that he was a great man, whom nature had intended for a leader of human beings; you ranged yourself willingly under his banners, and cheerfully submitted to his sway.

'He had an intense love of knowledge; he wasted very little of the portion of life

conceded to him, and was always improving himself in the masculine pursuits of the philosophy of legislation, of political economy, of the constitutional history of the country, and of the history and changes of ancient and modern Europe. He had read so much and so well, that he was a contemporary of all men, and a citizen of all states.

‘Francis Horner was a very modest person, which men of great understanding seldom are. It was his habit to confirm his opinion by the opinions of others, and often to form them from the same source.

‘His success in the House of Commons was decided and immediate, and went on increasing to the last day of his life. Though put into Parliament by some of the Great Borough Lords, every one saw that he represented his own real opinions. Without hereditary wealth, and known as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, his independence was never questioned; his integrity, sincerity, and moderation were acknowledged by all sides, and respected even by those impudent assassins who live only to discourage honesty and traduce virtue. The House of Commons, as a near relation of mine once observed, has more good taste than any man in it. Horner, from his manners, his ability, and his integrity, became a general favourite with the house; they suspended for him their habitual dislike of lawyers, of political adventurers, and of young men of *consecderable taalents* from the North.

‘Having known him well before he had acquired a great London reputation, I never observed that his fame produced the slightest alteration in his deportment; he was as affable to me and to all his old friends, as when we were debating metaphysics in a garret in Edinburgh. I don’t think it was in the power of ermine or mace, or seals, or lawn, or lace, or of any of those emblems and ornaments with which power loves to decorate itself, to have destroyed the simplicity of his character.

‘I remember the death of many eminent Englishmen, but I can safely say, I never

remember an impression so general as that excited by the death of Francis Horner. The public looked upon him as a powerful and safe man, who was labouring, not for himself or his party, but for them. They were convinced of his talents, they confided in his moderation, and they were sure of his motives; he had improved so quickly and so much, that his early death was looked on as the destruction of a great statesman, who had done but a small part of the good which might be expected from him, who would infallibly have risen to the highest offices, and as infallibly have filled them to the public good. Then, as he had never lost a friend and made so few enemies, there was no friction, no drawback; public feeling had its free course; the image of a good and great man was broadly before the world, unsullied by any breath of hatred; there was nothing but pure sorrow.’

The Whigs had the good fortune at this time to number in their ranks an intimate friend of Horner, and by far the greatest lawyer in the House of Commons—Sir Samuel Romilly. His profound knowledge of the law, his extraordinary industry, conscientious attention to his duties, and felicity in stating both his facts and arguments, obtained for him, not only an unexampled practice, but unrivalled authority both at the bar and with the bench. He was equally successful in Parliament, and some of his speeches there on the reform of the criminal code, and his pre-eminently powerful oration on the law of naturalization, were universally regarded as of the highest excellence. Romilly’s unsullied purity of character and inflexible integrity added not a little to the influence which he derived from his great abilities and legal attainments; while his natural and simple manners, generous and affectionate disposition, and boundless benevolence made him beloved as well as esteemed in the family and social circle.

Romilly’s capacity, says Lord Brougham, ‘was of the highest order. An extraordinary reach of thought; great powers

of attention and of close reasoning; a memory quick and retentive; a fancy eminently brilliant, but kept in perfect discipline by his judgment and his tact; cultivated, and severe without any of the squeamishness so fatal to vigour—these were the qualities which, under the guidance of the most persevering industry, and with the stimulus of a lofty ambition, rendered him unquestionably the first advocate and the most profound lawyer of the age he flourished in, placed him high among the ornaments of the senate, and would in all likelihood have given him the foremost place among them all, had not the occupations of his laborious profession necessarily engrossed a disproportionate share of his attention, and made political pursuits fill a subordinate place in the scheme of his life. Romilly's eloquence united all the more severe graces of oratory, both as regards the manner and the statesman. No man argued more clearly when the understanding was to be addressed; no man declaimed more powerfully when indignation was to be aroused or the feelings moved. His language was choice and pure; his powers of invective resembled rather the grave authority with which the judge puts down contempt or punishes an offender than the attack of an advocate against his adversary and his equal. His imagination was the minister whose services were rarely required, and whose mastery was never for an instant admitted. His sarcasm was tremendous, nor always very sparingly employed. His manner was perfect, in voice, in figure, in a countenance of singular beauty and dignity; nor was anything in his oratory more striking or more effective than the heartfelt sincerity which it throughout displayed in topic, in diction, in tone, in look, in gesture.'

Mackintosh justly said in 1810, 'Romilly's moral character, I think, stands higher than that of any other conspicuous Englishman now alive.'

The exertions of this great statesman in

Parliament were never directed to the promotion of his own interest, but were consistently and disinterestedly devoted to the benefit of humanity. He had for some years laboured zealously, but for the most part fruitlessly, to mitigate the severity of the sanguinary criminal code, which made it a capital punishment to steal five shillings from a shop, or forty shillings from a dwelling-house, or to steal goods from a vessel on a navigable river, or from a bleaching-ground, or for soldiers or marines to beg without a pass from a magistrate or their commanding officer, or to break any stocking or lace frames, or to destroy any of the machinery employed in collieries. He frequently succeeded in carrying through the House of Commons bills for the abolition of these relics of a barbarous age; but they were almost invariably thrown out by the House of Lords. He laboured, and other men have entered into his labours.

Another eminent philanthropist deserves special notice—William Wilberforce, who for upwards of a quarter of a century had represented the great county of York. He was the son of a merchant of Hull, and at the age of twenty-one, shortly after leaving Cambridge, he was chosen to represent his native town in Parliament. He became the intimate friend of Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and other eminent statesmen and men of letters, and seemed at this stage inclined to lead a life of fashionable amusement rather than of devotion either to political or philanthropic pursuits. In 1784, however, the Whig coalition roused his energies in behalf of Mr. Pitt, and he attended a great meeting of the freeholders of Yorkshire convened in support of the Whig policy, and delivered a speech so convincing and eloquent that he not only carried a resolution in opposition to that policy, but made such an impression on the freeholders present that, at next election, he was returned as one of the representatives of the county. Occupying this proud position, young, rich, accomplished, and highly popular, Wilberforce might, if he had pleased, have very soon

obtained one of the chief offices in the ministry of William Pitt. But he chose the nobler part of devoting his whole energies to the deliverance of the oppressed and neglected slaves; and by his resolute advocacy of their cause, until their wrongs were redressed and their chains broken off, contributed more to the moral elevation of his country than the most powerful statesman of that generation. He was one of the noblest examples on record of a conscientious and thoroughly independent politician, and his genuine and simple piety guided every thought and act of his life. Though he was one of Pitt's most intimate friends, he separated from him at several critical junctures, and at the sacrifice of his personal feelings, strenuously opposed the policy of the Government when he thought it erroneous and unjust. When a schoolboy, he wrote a letter to one of the York papers, condemning 'the odious

traffic in human flesh;' and in 1785 he expressed 'the hope that some time or other he should redress the wrongs of the wretched and degraded slaves in the West Indies.' Three years later he began that enterprise which it cost him an arduous struggle of twenty years to carry to a successful conclusion. Outside the House of Commons he had for his coadjutors in this arduous undertaking such men as Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharpe, and Zachary Macaulay; within the House he had rallied around him a small but resolute band of zealous and devoted friends, who had taken up an independent position in politics—made all other public questions subordinate to their one absorbing object, and were determined to persevere through good report and evil report till the accursed system, which had so long been a blot on the British escutcheon, should be completely annihilated.

## CHAPTER III.

Barbarossa and the Algerine Pirates—Measures to Suppress their Depredations—Mission of Lord Exmouth—Massacre of Fisherman at Bona—Bombardment of Algiers—Total Destruction of Algerine Fleet, and Liberation of the Christian Captives.

THE punishment of the piratical power, which for centuries had preyed on the commerce of Europe, and its subjection to the law of nations, form an interesting episode in the history of Great Britain after the peace, and were indeed the result of the peace. Algiers, situated on the extreme north of the coast of Africa, had in turn been possessed by the Romans, the Vandals, the Greeks, and the Saracens; and under each of its masters it was notorious for the piratical operations of its inhabitants. At the commencement of the sixteenth century it was tributary to Spain, having been conquered by an expedition undertaken by the advice and at the cost of Cardinal Ximenes. In 1516, however, Horuc a corsair—designated Barbarossa from his red beard—succeeded in expelling the Spaniards and establishing his authority over the Algerines, whom he treated with great cruelty. He was ultimately defeated and killed by a Spanish army sent to inflict condign punishment on him for his many barbarous crimes. He was succeeded by his brother, Hayradin, who was also surnamed Barbarossa, and carried on his piratical enterprises even more widely and successfully than Horuc had done. He built a strong mole for the protection of his ships, employing, it is said, 30,000 Christian slaves, who laboured for three years in its erection. The Grand Signior sent him a supply of money which enabled him to build a strong fort and batteries for the defence of the city, so as to render it a source of danger as well as of great annoyance to the Spanish kingdom. The Emperor Charles V. was induced by the ex-

hortations of Pope Paul III. to send a powerful fleet, consisting of 120 ships and twenty galleys, having on board 26,000 soldiers, to suppress the cruel piracies of this corsair chief; but a dreadful storm destroyed the greater part of the ships and completely ruined the expedition.

During the two centuries and a half which succeeded this ill-fated enterprise, the Algerine pirates continued to prey upon the commerce of the Christian states of Europe, and to reduce their captives to a most degrading and cruel slavery. 'Algiers,' says a writer in 1680, 'is a den of sturdy thieves formed into a body, by which, after a tumultuary sort, they govern, having the Grand Signior for their protector, who supplies them with native Turks for their soldiery, which is the greatest part of their militia; and they, in acknowledgment, lend him their ships when his affairs require it. They are grown a rich and powerful people, and by a long practice of piracy become good seamen; and when pressed by our men-of-war, as of late we have experimented, they fight and defend themselves like brave men, inferior, I am persuaded, to no people whatever. They have no commerce, and so are without any taste of the benefits of peace; whence their life becomes a continual practice of robbery, and, like beasts of the desert, they only forbear to wrong where by fear, not honesty, they are deterred.'

The European governments, provoked beyond bearing by their cruel depredations, repeatedly chastised this barbarous race, and menaced them with destruction. The Porte, on one occasion, sent them a re-



primand accompanied with threats of vengeance. But they coolly replied that their 'depredations deserved to be indulged to them, seeing they were the only bulwark against the Christian powers, especially against the Spaniards, the sworn enemies of the Moslem name;' adding that 'if they should pay a punctilious regard to all that could purchase peace or liberty to trade with the Ottoman Empire, they could have nothing to do but to set fire to all their shipping and turn camel-drivers for a livelihood.'

The reprimand of the Porte, though couched in severe terms, was merely for form's sake, and the Algerines continued their piratical career with impunity, till the Venetians, indignant at the ravages committed on the Adriatic coast, sent a fleet of twenty-eight sail with orders to burn, sink, or take all the Barbary corsairs they should meet. They encountered and defeated the Algerines after a stubborn conflict, in which the corsairs lost 1500 men, and 1600 slaves were restored to liberty. The French Government were the next to take vengeance on these pirates for their outrages; they bombarded the town, first in 1682, and the second time in the following year, reducing it to ashes, and destroying the shipping as well as the fortifications and houses. It had become evident, however, that nothing short of a complete revolution, not only of the government, but in the character and condition of the people, would bring the Algerines within the pale of civilization. The burning of their ships and the destruction of their fortifications might indeed compel them to release the Christian slaves in their hands, and to promise that they would in future abandon their long-continued habit of reducing their captives to slavery; but in the utter absence of trade and commerce, and, indeed, of all means of making an honest livelihood, they were found in a short time pursuing their old plundering practices. It was clear that there would be no security either for the property or the persons of

the traders in the Mediterranean until this nest of robbers was destroyed.

The pirates always stood in awe of England, whose naval power, they were well aware, it was very dangerous to provoke; and though they occasionally seized and plundered a British vessel, and were severely punished for their misconduct, it was not until Britain obtained possession of Gibraltar and Minorca that they abstained from all interference with the shipping of our country. They made up for this abstinence from attacks on the great European powers by their outrages on the weaker states—particularly on Naples and Sardinia—not only capturing their vessels, but making descents upon their coasts, plundering their towns and villages, and carrying off persons of every age, sex, and rank, and selling them as slaves. After the downfall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna took into consideration the propriety of suppressing this piratical power at Algiers, which had so long and so persistently set at defiance the law of nations and the dictates of humanity, and had torn from their homes, immured in dungeons, and treated with the grossest barbarity numerous individuals not unfrequently belonging to the higher classes of society. The return of Napoleon from Elba, however, broke up the Congress, and the subject was not taken up again after the Peace of Paris in 1815. The feeling, however, had now become universal that the outrages of the Algerines could no longer be tolerated, and it was left to Britain, as the only formidable naval power, to avenge the injuries of three centuries.

The first step taken was to send an expedition to the coast of Barbary to demand that the piratical states of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis should conclude peace with the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples, recognize the cession of the Ionian Islands to Great Britain, and as entitled to the protection of the British flag, set at liberty the prisoners actually in bondage, and give a pledge that they would in future refrain from treating prisoners of war as slaves.

The expedition was placed under the command of Lord Exmouth, one of the most energetic of English naval commanders, who had for forty years served with distinction in every quarter of the world. Serving in the American war under weak and incapable officers, his bravery and activity gained him high commendation and promotion. When the French revolutionary war broke out, he was employed in command of the *Nymph* in protecting our own coasts and blockading those of France. After a desperate contest he captured the French frigate *Cleopatra*, and was rewarded for this exploit with a knighthood and promotion to the command of the *Arethusa*. He subsequently served in the *Indefatigable* and the *Tonnant*, and was as celebrated for humanity as for his courage and skill. In 1804 he was appointed naval commander-in-chief in the East Indies, and after his return home in 1808 he was employed as Vice-admiral of the Blue in the blockade of Flushing, and after the death of Lord Collingwood in 1811, he was made commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean. At the close of the war in 1814, his long and eminent services were recognized by his elevation to the peerage as Baron Exmouth. This distinguished naval officer, a worthy successor of Nelson and Collingwood, was now selected for the enterprise against the Algerine pirates, which it was well known would be attended with peculiar danger and difficulty.

He went first to Algiers. The Dey readily agreed to recognize the Ionian Islands as British possessions, and to make peace with Naples and Sardinia, but expressed his unwillingness to entertain any overtures for the abolition of the slavery of captives. Lord Exmouth then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli. The Beys of these places not only concluded an arrangement similar to that made with Algiers, but also promised that they would not in future make slaves of prisoners of war. They also set at liberty nearly 1800 Christian slaves at this time in their hands. Lord Exmouth then returned

to Algiers, and endeavoured to persuade the Dey to follow the example of Tunis and Tripoli, but in vain. The Dey pleaded that he was a subject of the Ottoman Porte, and could not agree to the abolition of slavery without the approval of the Sultan. He promised, however, to send an envoy to Constantinople for the purpose of requesting the Sultan's consent to the proposed arrangement. Lord Exmouth on this agreed to a suspension of hostilities for three months. He also consented that the Governments of Naples and Sardinia should pay a ransom for the release of their subjects, held in captivity by the Algerines; and, in point of fact, they did so pay nearly 400,000 dollars. This clause of the treaty was generally and justly condemned as implying a recognition of the right of the piratical powers to carry on their depredations.

Lord Exmouth, in a letter from Algiers to the king of Naples, states that he had made the Dey perfectly understand that the existence of his sovereignty would depend entirely on his good faith and moderation, and that a repetition of his marauding practices would bring down upon him the vengeance of all the Christian powers of Europe. His Lordship adds, however, that having refused to grant the Dey the enormous sum which he demanded for the peace, he had not considered himself authorized to compel the Dey to accept a less sum than that which had been stipulated for the release of the captives. Having thus accomplished so far his mission, Lord Exmouth returned to England in June, and reported the result of his negotiations. It appeared to the Government to be so satisfactory that they dismantled the fleet employed in the expedition, and paid off and disbanded the crews.

There is good reason to believe, however, that the Dey, an ignorant and ferocious barbarian, sprung from the dregs of the soldiery, never really intended to follow out the terms of the agreement; and his subjects, bred in rapine and bloodshed, were

furious at the prospect of being compelled to abandon their marauding habits, and to earn a subsistence by honest industry. So great was the excitement among them, that it is alleged they had formed a plot to assassinate the English commander on his way from the town to his ship. The Dey, dreading their violence, and anxious to protect himself against its effects, prepared to resist any assault from the European powers by adding to the defences of the town and forming alliances with the Emperor of Morocco and other Mussulman potentates. The piratical attacks on European vessels were also revived with redoubled activity; and in their blind fanatical fury the Algerine soldiers were guilty of an act of peculiar atrocity, which filled up the measure of their crimes, and brought down upon them condign and well-merited vengeance.

At Bona, on the coast of Algiers, there was an establishment for carrying on a coral fishery under the protection of the British flag, which the Algerines had hitherto carefully respected. Operations were carried on by a great number of Neapolitan, Corsican, and Italian boats, which, on payment of an annual tribute, had hitherto been unmolested in their industrial pursuits. On May 23rd, the festival of the Ascension, at an early hour in the morning, while the crews were preparing to hear mass, a gun was suddenly fired from the castle, and 2000 Algerine troops commenced an attack upon the fishermen, and massacred nearly the whole of them. They also tore in pieces the British flag and trampled it under foot, pillaged the property of the unfortunate fishermen and the house of the British vice-consul, and detained that official a prisoner in the town.

It is uncertain whether this shocking outrage was perpetrated by the orders of the Dey and his Divan, or, as is more probable, was the result of an outbreak of the ignorant and savage soldiery connived at by the Government. In either case, it could not be allowed to pass unpunished.

And no sooner did the news reach England than it was resolved to exact retribution for the massacre of the defenceless fishermen, and the affront offered to the British flag. Lord Exmouth was again appointed to the command of the expedition, and was requested to state what force he considered necessary for the destruction of that nest of pirates, which had so long troubled the civilized world. He was of opinion that five ships of the line, five frigates, and five bomb vessels would be sufficient for the purpose. This force was equipped with remarkable rapidity, and early in July his Lordship sailed with the *Queen Charlotte*, of 110 guns; the *Impregnable*, of 98 guns; other three ships of 70 guns each; five frigates, and eight smaller vessels. The squadron reached Gibraltar in the beginning of August, where it was joined by a Dutch fleet of five frigates and a sloop, under Admiral Van de Capellen, who had asked and readily obtained permission to share the dangers and honours of the enterprise.

The dangers to be encountered, indeed, were neither few nor small. Algiers is built on the slope of a steep hill, facing the Mediterranean in the form of an amphitheatre. The summit of the hill, 500 feet in height, was at that time surmounted by an ancient fortress. Joseph Pitts, an English traveller, who visited Algiers about the beginning of last century, says, 'The houses are all over white, being flat, and covered with lime and sand as floors. The upper part of the town is not so broad as the lower part, and therefore at sea it looks just like the topsail of a ship. It is a very strong place, and well fortified with castles and guns. There are seven castles without the walls, and two tiers of guns in most of them; but in the greatest castle, which is on the mole without the gate, there are three tiers of guns, many of them of an extraordinary length, carrying fifty, sixty, yea, eighty pound shot. Besides all these castles there is, at the higher end of the town within the walls, another castle with many guns. And, moreover, on many

places towards the sea are great guns planted. Algiers is well walled, and surrounded with a great trench. It hath five gates, and some of them have two, some three, other gates within them; and some of them plated all over with thick iron, so that it is made strong and convenient for being what it is—a nest of pirates.’

Algiers appears to have undergone little change between the days of Joseph Pitts and the time of the expedition against it in 1816. But when Lord Exmouth arrived at Gibraltar, he learned that the Dey was making the greatest exertions to strengthen the defences of the town. The wall which surrounded it was strongly fortified, and the range of slopes on which the town was built bristled with batteries. A long pier projected into the sea, and at the end of it there was a semicircular mole, built on a ledge of rock, bending towards the town. The entrance to the harbour was protected by another pier opposite to the mole. These piers, as well as the mole and the rock on which it stood, were covered with cannon. Altogether the sea front of the town was defended by 500 guns, in addition to the formidable navy which the Dey had collected to assist in repelling the assault of the British ships. He had also thrown out additional works on both flanks of the town, and at the entrance of the mole, and had brought down 40,000 men from the interior; and all the Janissaries had been called in from distant garrisons to assist in strengthening the sea defences and in manning the fortifications. So confident does he appear to have been that the town was sufficiently strong to bid defiance to the attacks of the British and Dutch ships that he arrested the British consul and put him in chains, and refused either to release him or to promise his personal safety. A corvette despatched to Algiers to endeavour to rescue the unfortunate official had failed to do so, but had succeeded, in the disguise of naval officers, in bringing off his wife and daughter. A boat was left to convey the consul's infant child in charge of the surgeon; but it be-

trayed itself by its cries, and the boat's crew, along with three midshipmen and the surgeon, eighteen in number, were seized and confined in dungeons. The Dey sent off the poor child next morning, and ‘as a solitary instance of his humanity,’ says Lord Exmouth, ‘it ought to be recorded by me.’

As soon as the British admiral had learned the position of matters he quitted Gibraltar with all speed (August 14), but owing to calms and head winds he did not reach the bay of Algiers till the 27th. Immediately on his arrival he despatched a boat with a flag of truce, to deliver an ultimatum to the Dey. The demands which he had been instructed to make were extremely moderate. They were the immediate liberation, without ransom, of all Christian slaves now within the town and territory of Algiers, the repayment of the money which since the commencement of the year had been paid for the ransom of Sardinian and Neapolitan captives, the entire abolition of Christian slavery, the conclusion of peace with the Netherlands on the same terms as those on which peace was made with Great Britain, and the immediate liberation of the British consul and of the boat's crew who had been seized in the attempt to bring off his child. Great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the consul, and a letter was conveyed to him assuring him that every effort should be made for his protection.

A Mr. Abraham Salome, a native of Alexandria, who had accompanied Lord Exmouth as interpreter, was intrusted with these letters, to be delivered to the captain of the port, and was instructed to demand an answer within an hour. The captain represented that the time was too short for the decision of so important a matter, but that two hours would be sufficient. Salome waited for three hours and a half, very uncomfortably, he admits, within pistol-shot of the batteries, which were crowded with spectators. At the end of that time, as no answer had been received, he took his leave. Meanwhile a breeze had sprung up, and

Lord Exmouth moved his ships into the bay, himself leading the way in the *Queen Charlotte*, and lay to within half a mile of the town, holding himself ready for action. A signal was seen flying from the boat which had been sent with the flag of truce, intimating that no answer had been returned by the Dey. The fleet immediately bore up, and every ship took up her assigned position.

When Salome reached the *Queen Charlotte*, almost more dead than alive, as he frankly admits, he was struck with the change that had passed over the countenance of the admiral. 'I was quite surprised,' he says, 'to see how his lordship was altered from what I left him in the morning, for I knew his manner was in general very mild; and now he seemed to me *all-fightful* as a fierce lion which had been chained in its cage and was set at liberty. With all that, his lordship's answer to me was, "Never mind, we shall see now;" and, at the same time, he turned towards the officers, saying, "Be ready." A profound silence prevailed on both sides. The mole and pier, as well as the surrounding heights, were crowded with spectators, who seemed to have no idea of any danger to be apprehended; and Lord Exmouth, who stood upon the poop of his vessel, waved his hat as a signal for them to retire; but the warning was either not understood or was disregarded. The *Queen Charlotte* was anchored within a pistol-shot of the batteries on the head of the mole, and as there was still no attack made on her, 'I began to expect,' said his lordship, 'a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands.' At this moment a shot was fired from the mole at the *Queen Charlotte* by the Algerines, and two at the ships to the northward that were following. 'That will do,' exclaimed Lord Exmouth; 'fire, my fine fellows.' The *Queen Charlotte* on this delivered her entire broadside, which is said to have struck down no less than 500 men. 'There was a great crowd of people in every part,' says Salome, 'many of whom, after

the first discharge, I saw running away under the walls like dogs, walking upon their feet and hands.'

The cannonade continued on both sides without intermission from a quarter to three until near ten o'clock, and did not cease altogether until half-past eleven. During this period the allied fleet fired 118 tons of gunpowder, and 500 tons of shot and shells. No wonder that the Algerines thought that hell had opened its mouth upon them. Their batteries were reduced to heaps of ruins, and a large portion of the town was destroyed. Their storehouses and arsenal, with all their contents, were burned to ashes, along with four frigates of 44 guns, five large corvettes of from 20 to 30 guns, all their gun and mortar boats except seven, several merchant brigs and schooners, and a great number of small vessels of various descriptions. The whole harbour and bay were illuminated by one great and general blaze, which showed the town and its environs almost as clearly as in the day time. The assailing force had completed its arduous work, but its position was still one of danger. One of the Algerine vessels in flames drifted towards the *Queen Charlotte*, and was within fifty feet of her when it was fortunately carried by the breeze towards the town. A fort on the upper angle of the city, on which the guns of the fleet could not be brought to bear, continued to pour a harassing fire of shot and shells upon the headmost ships. Fortunately at this critical juncture they were enabled to retire from their perilous position. 'Providence, at this interval,' says Lord Exmouth, 'gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours' incessant labour.' A storm of thunder and lightning, which arose when the fleet had anchored, added not a little to the sublimity of the scene.

Success in such an enterprise could not have been gained without considerable loss, for the Dey and his troops fought with a courage worthy of a better cause. On board the British fleet 128 men were killed, and 690 wounded. The Dutch lost thirteen killed, and fifty-two wounded. But this loss of life was recompensed by the restoration to liberty of ten times that number of Christian slaves, and the destruction of a horde of barbarous and bloodthirsty pirates who had for centuries been the scourge of European commerce.

The behaviour of the forces employed in achieving this deliverance was deserving of the highest commendation. 'The whole,' says Lord Exmouth in his despatch, 'was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line; and that the guns were well worked and directed will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever. Not an officer nor man confined his exertions within the precise limits of his own duty; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite.' Lord Exmouth's own gallantry, which his modesty made him pass over unnoticed, was cordially eulogized by his brother admiral of the Dutch squadron. 'Till nine o'clock,' says Van de Capellen, 'Lord Exmouth remained with the *Queen Charlotte* in the same position in the hottest of the fire, thereby encouraging every one not to give up the begun work until the whole was completed, and thus displaying such perseverance that all were animated with the same spirit. Shortly afterwards the *Queen Charlotte*, by the loosening of the burning wreck, being in the greatest danger, we were, under the heaviest fire, only anxious for the fate of our noble leader. But upon offering him the assistance of all the boats of the squadron his reply was, That having calculated every thing, it behoved us by no means to be alarmed for his safety, but only to continue our fire with redoubled zeal.' Lord Exmouth's clothes were riddled with balls,

but he fortunately received only two slight hurts.

Next morning the British admiral despatched a letter to the Dey, offering him the same moderate and reasonable terms which he had previously rejected. 'For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless Christians,' wrote his Lordship, 'and for your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries. As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace which I conveyed to you yesterday in my sovereign's name: without the acceptance of these terms you can have no peace with England. If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my own convenience.'

After the lapse of three hours—the required signal—the firing in succession of three shots, intimated to the British admiral the acceptance of the offered terms. A boat immediately came out, having on board the captain of the port and the Swedish consul. A conference was held on board the flagship with these representatives of the Dey in the presence of the Dutch admiral, and Admiral Milne, and Captain Brisbane. All the demands of the British Government were granted unconditionally. On the 30th, Lord Exmouth, by a salute of twenty-one guns, announced to his fleet the signature of peace. All the slaves in the city and territory of Algiers were immediately liberated. The money paid since the commencement of the year by the Neapolitan and Sardinian Governments for the redemption of slaves, amounting to 382,500 dollars, was restored; the British consul was liberated; an ample apology was made to him by the Dey, and he received compensation for the losses which he had suffered in consequence of

his imprisonment. The Dey also became bound to abolish Christian slavery, and in future to treat all prisoners of war according to the usages of civilized nations.

After the treaty had been negotiated, Lord Exmouth learned that a Spanish merchant and the vice-consul of Spain were still detained in prison and in irons, under the pretence that they were confined for debt. Having made inquiry into their case, and ascertained that they were unjustly imprisoned, the British admiral demanded their release. This, however, was refused; and a second proposal, that they should be freed from their fetters, and allowed to quit their dungeon and be placed in the custody of the Spanish consul, was peremptorily rejected by the Dey. This procedure boded ill for the observance of the treaty just concluded. But Lord Exmouth was not thus to be trifled with; and he demanded the immediate release of the two prisoners, with the assurance that, in the event of a refusal, hostilities would be at once commenced. His firmness produced the desired effect—the sufferers were released from their long and severe captivity, and the noble admiral had the satisfaction to know, on his departure with his fleet (September 30), that he had not left a single Christian slave or prisoner in the Algerine dungeons.

The slaves who were liberated by this enterprise, 1083 in number, were immediately conveyed to their respective countries. Salome was intrusted with the duty of receiving the rescued captives from their oppressors. ‘When I arrived on shore,’ he says, ‘it was the most pitiful sight to see all these poor creatures, in what a horrible state they were; but it is impossible to describe the joy and cheerfulness of them. When our boats came inside the mole, I wished to receive them (the slaves) from the captain of the port by number, but could not, because they directly began to push and throw themselves into the boats by crowds, ten or twenty persons together, so that it was impossible to count them.

Then I told him that we should make an exact list of them, in order to know to what number they amounted. It was indeed a most glorious and an immemorably merciful act for England, and all Europe, to see these poor slaves, when our boats were shoving with them off the shore, all at once take off their hats and exclaim in Italian, “Viva il Ré d’Ingliterra, il padre eterno! e ’l ammeraglio Inglese che ci ha liberato da questo secondo inferno!—Long live the King of England, the eternal father! and the English Admiral, who delivered us from this second hell!”’

On his return to England, Lord Exmouth received the well-merited thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was elevated to the rank of Viscount.

The enterprise against the Algerine pirates was most creditable to Britain, both as regards the motive in which it originated and the courage and promptitude with which it was carried out. It was undertaken entirely at her own expense, for no interested purpose, but purely for the general benefit of humanity—for the repression, by the strong hand, of a system of rapacity and cruelty—to ‘break the oppressor’s chain, and set the captives free.’ It would have been well for the honour and welfare of mankind if warlike enterprises had never been undertaken except for similar purposes.

There is another important ground for congratulation on account of the circumstances under which the overthrow of the Algerine power was achieved. ‘The cause of Christianity had again united the British and the Dutch, and the flags of Britain and Holland had shared the dangers of the battle and the glories of the victory. Situation, religion, tradition, and taste pointed to a firm alliance between Holland and England. Both of them were placed on the most northern frontier of Europe. Both of them had accepted the tenets of the reformed faith. Both of them had stood in arms to resist the ambition of Catholic Spain. England had on one memorable occasion

obtained a king from Holland. The Dutch and English shared between them the carrying trade of Europe. Yet though Holland and England had so many grounds for close alliance, they had too frequently been engaged in warfare with each other. The keen rivalry which had animated the fleets of Blake and Van Tromp was remembered by the sailors of the Batavian republic. Holland ranged herself on the side of France, and the Dutch and English again contended for the mastery of the seas. The expedition to Algiers had the merit of effacing the recollections of the long war. The glorious success obtained by the Dutch and English combined fleets obliterated the traditions of Camperdown and Walcheren.'

It is almost matter of regret that the piratical powers at Algiers had not been rooted out, instead of being merely punished by Lord Exmouth, for in no long time it became evident that forbearance was utterly

thrown away upon them. The Dey very speedily set about rebuilding the ruined fortifications of his city, and putting it into a more formidable state of defence than ever. These pirates did not indeed venture again to attack the ships or to molest the commerce of Great Britain; but they seem to have thought themselves a match for the navy of any other European power. The French consul made a strong remonstrance against the injuries inflicted on the trade and commerce of his own country; but instead of receiving redress, he was treated with gross insult. The French government on this, provoked beyond bearing, declared war against the Dey. Hostilities on an extensive scale were carried on for a number of years; and after an enormous expenditure of blood and treasure, they terminated in the complete destruction of the piratical power and the conversion of Algiers into a French colony.



## CHAPTER IV.

State of Commerce and Manufactures—British Parliament on the Taxation of the Country—Horner's Speech against the Occupation of the Frontiers of France by an Allied Force—The Property Tax—Financial Position of the Government—Great Distress in the Country—Luddite Riots—Marriage of the Princess Charlotte.

THE war which the restless, unprincipled ambition of Napoleon had renewed and protracted on the Continent had not only exhausted the energies and wasted the population of his own country, but had carried bloodshed and incalculable suffering into every country in Europe, with the single exception of Great Britain. Agriculture had in consequence necessarily languished on the Continent, as the labourers had been forced into the military service, and old men and women alone were left to cultivate the fields. Manufactures were even more injuriously affected; for not only were the skilled artizans and mechanics withdrawn from industrial pursuits, but capitalists could not venture to lay out their money in erecting factories which invading armies might at any moment destroy, or to employ their energies in the production of goods which an enemy was almost certain to appropriate. To crown all, the extraordinary expenditure which the continental nations were compelled to undergo in order to equip and maintain the enormous armies that had been raised to resist the reiterated aggressions of the French, not only crippled their industry, but loaded them with an overwhelming burden of debt which seriously hampered the enterprise of succeeding generations. But this very state of matters, so injurious to the other European nations, proved for the time highly advantageous to the interests of Britain. Her security from foreign invasion enabled her agriculturists to sow their fields and gather in their crops in perfect security, and, besides, obtained a ready sale and a highly remunerative price for their productions, partly from the Government, to carry on its warlike operations, partly from the manufacturing classes, whose increased wages made them profitable customers. The demand, both at home and abroad, for British manufactured goods greatly stimulated both the ingenuity of inventors and the increase of manufacturing establishments; so that while the war lasted Britain had become the great workshop and commercial emporium, not only of Europe, but of the world. The official value of her imports rose during the war from £19,659,358, in 1792, to £32,620,771 in 1814. During the same period the official value of the exports of British produce rose from £18,326,815 in 1792, to £41,712,002 in 1815. The foreign and colonial produce exported increased from £6,568,349 in 1792, to £19,157,818 in 1814. It was evident, at a glance, that the return of peace must inevitably produce a very great effect on such an inflated state of affairs, in retrenchment on the part of Government, in the fall of prices, the diminution of the demand for labour, the reduction of wages, and the consequent want of employment on the part of the working-classes. The effect of the peace, therefore, was to reduce the price of manufactured goods from a half to a third of their previous value. In some cases the reduction was even much larger. The price of copper, for example, fell from £180 to £18 per ton; that of iron, from £20 to £8; that of hemp, from £118 to £34; and other commodities were affected, though not to so large, yet still to a great extent.

Taking an aggregate estimate of the result of the peace on our commercial interests, its immediate effect was to reduce our import trade by nearly twenty per cent., and our export trade by sixteen per cent., and to deprive Great Britain of the advantage—which the war had given her—of being the great entrepôt for the world.

Strange to say, the Government appear to have had no knowledge of the real state of the country, and no apprehension of the magnitude of the difficulties they were about to encounter. Although the duties which devolved upon Parliament at this crisis were of the most onerous kind, its meeting was delayed until an unusually late period. The speech of the Prince Regent, delivered by commissioners, congratulated the House of Commons on the flourishing condition of the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the United Kingdom; although the Irish members were unable to attend in consequence of the 'pecuniary distress and partial disturbance' which existed in Ireland. His Royal Highness assured the Commons, however, that they might rely upon every disposition on his part to concur in such measures of economy as would be found consistent with the security of the country and the station which it occupied in Europe, and the speech concluded with expressing his determination, by the justice and moderation of his conduct, to endeavour to maintain the high character which Great Britain had acquired with the world, and his hope that the same union among the people, which had brought the eventful struggle on the Continent to so happy an issue, would continue to promote the public prosperity.

In the House of Lords there was no amendment proposed to the address. In the Commons it was moved by Mr. Brand, and seconded by Lord John Russell (who had entered Parliament in 1814), that 'it was the duty of ministers to have convened Parliament with the least possible delay for the purpose of communicating those important treaties with the allies

and with France, which, after having been acted upon for several months, were then about to be laid before Parliament, and pledging the House to a speedy revisal of the civil and military establishments according to the principles of the most rigid economy, and a due regard to the public interests.' His lordship complained that, in a speech which gave the House an account of the affairs of Candy and Nepaul, there was no allusion to the cause of the present distress. This was the more unaccountable, he said, because during many years, when it was represented that the effect of such unbounded taxation would be in the end ruinous, the answer uniformly given had been a reference to the flourishing state of the country. But now, after glory on glory, all this prosperity had vanished. The farmer could not pay his rent; the landlord could not pay his taxes; and from the lowest labourer of the land to the peer who stood next the throne, all felt that our prosperity was gone, except, indeed, those who were paid out of the public purse. Evidently for the purpose of drawing from the Government a declaration of their financial policy, Lord John referred to the report that ministers intended to propose the continuation of a great part of the income tax. He feared, however, that 'when they came to milk the cow they would find her dry. There could be no more dreadful calamity for this country than the continuance of the tax in question.'

The amendment was supported by Mr. Brougham, Lord Milton, Mr. Tierney, and Sir Samuel Romilly, who all dwelt on the pressure of taxation as one main cause of the existing distress, and argued that the public burdens could be diminished only by the introduction of the most rigid economy into every branch of the public service, and reducing where it was practicable the military, civil, and financial departments. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Castlereagh, on the other hand, contended that the revenue was generally in a flourishing state, that the existing distress was by

no means so great as had been represented, and that it would be only temporary. The Chancellor, in addition, avowed that it was the intention of the Government to continue the income tax on the modified scale of five per cent., and boldly affirmed that of all the modes that could be thought of for raising the public revenue, 'none would be equally advantageous and economical, or less oppressive and burdensome to the community at large.'

The division on the address took place at an unexpected time, when the House was so thin that only twenty-three voted for the amendment, and ninety against it. Both the mover and seconder of the amendment were absent when the division was taken.

The income or property tax had always been a most unpopular impost. It was originally imposed by Pitt in 1799, and at a ten per cent. rate yielded about six millions a year. It was allowed to drop at the Peace of Amiens, but was revived in 1803 in the shape of a duty of five per cent. Three years later the impost was doubled, and continued at a ten per cent. rate till after the peace. It had throughout been regarded as a war tax, and the country had taken it for granted that on the termination of hostilities the impost would be abolished.

The Ministry, however, were of opinion that the income tax was both advantageous and economical, and they appear to have had no idea of the state of feeling against it among all classes and political parties. It yielded a revenue of fifteen millions a year; and having resolved to maintain a large and costly peace establishment, they could not see how it could be possible to dispense with a source of income so large and so convenient. The expenditure of the year had been estimated at £66,581,295, while the income, exclusive of the property tax, would only amount to £52,365,000. There was, indeed, a surplus of six millions in the Exchequer; but even taking this sum into account, the repeal of the property tax would involve a deficit of more than eight

millions. It appears from documents recently published in the memoirs of Mr. J. C. Herries, then Secretary to the Treasury, that the prime minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were personally opposed to the extravagant scale on which the estimates had been laid before Parliament, but that they yielded, contrary to their own better judgment, to the pressure of 'the departments.' 'A good, wise, and economical budget,' says Mr. Herries, 'has crumbled in our grasp; the higher powers have yielded to the subordinate departments, and we have a supply of thirty millions to bring forward without having any arrears to provide for; therefore a fair prospect of thirty millions for a peace establishment. The army alone amounts to thirteen millions. We had much better be at war than allow so great an expenditure to continue during peace.' Mr. Herries' biographer justly remarks that 'in order rightly to appreciate the magnitude of this outlay (£30,457,550), which was looked upon with amazement by the Tory commissary-in-chief, it is necessary to consider that since 1816 the wealth of the kingdom has been more than quadrupled, and that consequently the real burden of a given charge upon the tax payers was probably four times as heavy as it would be now.'

It soon became evident that the proposal to continue the income tax, in any form or to any extent, would meet with the strong disapproval of the people. The Opposition very naturally adopted a similar view of the obnoxious impost, and insisted that the naval and military establishments of the country should be reduced to a point which would render a continuance of the tax unnecessary. The Government asked for 149,000 soldiers and 33,000 seamen, of whom 99,000 were intended for home service, and pleaded that this force exceeded by only 7000 the number that was thought necessary before the war. They further argued that 'Europe had scarcely subsided into peace; and that even if peace were preserved, the events of the war had

imposed new duties and new responsibilities on Britain. The vast extension of its colonial empire, moreover, made some additions to its home reserves obviously necessary.' The Opposition, on the other hand, alleged that the great peace establishment was intended as a preliminary step towards assimilating Great Britain to the military powers on the Continent. This step, it was contended, would lead to a total subversion of her constitution. The two systems were incompatible. Either the Government or the military establishment must give way; and when the question was a struggle for ascendancy between liberty and the constitution on the one hand, and power and despotism, upheld by a military establishment, on the other, the warning experience of history proclaimed that the struggle was short and the termination most ruinous. The Opposition dwelt mainly on the evident partiality shown by the Government for continental alliances, and the danger to the constitution and liberties of our country which must arise from the maintenance of an enormous standing army—apprehensions which experience has proved to have been greatly exaggerated.

It speedily appeared that they were on more secure ground, and had public opinion strongly in their favour, when they denounced the excessive peace expenditure proposed by the Ministry, and their determination to perpetuate war-taxes for its support. The people, who had without a murmur borne, for a quarter of a century, a load of taxation altogether unparalleled, naturally expected relief now that peace had been attained, and were indignant when they discovered that in the midst of a season of great national distress the military establishments of the country were still to be continued on a war scale.

The Ministry, elated with the triumph of their continental policy, and full of self-confidence, appear to have been profoundly ignorant of the state of public feeling on the subject. In a debate in the Committee of Supply on the 13th February,

Lord Castlereagh used the oft-quoted words that he 'felt assured that the people of England would not, from an ignorant impatience to be relieved from the pressure of taxation, put every thing to hazard, when everything might be accomplished by continued constancy and firmness.' This ill-judged language excited great indignation throughout the country, and contributed not a little to strengthen the Opposition to the financial proposals of the Government. Lord Grenville, who had expressed his cordial approval of the address, now caused the Peers to be summoned, and on the 14th February, in moving that the military estimates should be laid before the House, said, 'the question which their lordships had to consider was whether after a struggle of twenty-four years, maintained by such immense efforts and at such vast expense, they were at length to obtain the blessings of that real peace for which they had so long contended, or whether their situation was to be exactly the reverse? whether they were still to be charged with an immense military establishment? whether they were now to be called upon to take their rank among the military states of the Continent? whether they were to abandon the wise maxims and policy of their forefathers, by which the country had risen to such a height and had been enabled to make such great exertions, and become, at a humble distance, mere servile imitators of those systems which had been the cause of so much distress and calamity to the nations by which they had been adopted and maintained? whether the people of this country, after all they had done, after all the loyalty and firmness which they had evinced, after all they had suffered and were still suffering, were to have, not the name of peace, but the establishments of peace, the expenditure and taxation of peace?' The Parliament, however, was not yet prepared to take the bold step of curtailing the supplies which the Ministry had asked; and though the army and navy estimates were the subject of keen debates, there was no

substantial change made on their original form.

The discussion on the treaties with foreign powers, which took place on the 19th of February, afforded an opportunity of renewing the Opposition to the naval and military establishments contended for by the Government. In the House of Lords, when the prime minister moved the address, Lord Grenville proposed an amendment, deprecating in strong terms 'the settled system to raise the country into a military power.' 'It is by a contrary system,' it said, 'that we have risen to prosperity and greatness; these are, under Providence, solely to be ascribed to the influence of a Government founded on freedom and maintained by the arts and institutions of peace. We know not how a great and permanent military establishment, continued after the termination of the war for which alone it was created, can ever be made consistent with the principles of such a constitution, or the security of such a Government.' The force of argument was all on the side of the Opposition; but the amendment was rejected by a majority of sixty-four.

The address upon the treaties was proposed in the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, who expounded at great length the nature and object of the treaties with the continental powers, and expressed cordial approval of the terms of the peace, and of the policy pursued towards France. Lord Milton proposed an amendment in the terms of Lord Grenville's motion, directed against the occupation of the frontiers of France by 'a great allied force,' and the maintenance of 'an enormous and disproportionate military establishment' in our own country. The debate, which was continued during two nights, was exceedingly keen and able. Sir Samuel Romilly noted down the heads of his speech, because he considered it the most important occasion he ever spoke on. But it was admitted on all hands that Horner's was the great speech of the debate; Romilly

called it 'admirable,' and the commendation bestowed on the speech by this high authority was re-echoed in the most glowing terms by other eminent critics. Mr. Abbot, the Speaker, declared it to be a most powerful, argumentative, and profound, and, altogether, one of the most able speeches he had ever heard in that House. An oration characterized in such terms merits a place in a history of the period, not only because of its own intrinsic excellence, but because it sets forth fully and clearly the opinions held at this period by the Opposition, and which were ultimately adopted by the great body of the people.

'It had, since the battle of Waterloo, been admitted,' he said, 'even by the confession of an enemy, that the infantry of England had no equal. He did look on this as a great acquisition of glory, a great acquisition of strength; and his prayer was that the military strength thus acquired might be properly made use of. The proper use of that strength was, first, to reserve it for the defence of our country, and next, in foreign interposition, when that interposition should be clearly and absolutely necessary to our welfare; but we were to remember that it would be employed unnecessarily in continental quarrels, or in projects of unjustifiable ambition. It was obvious that they had mixed up the whole of their transactions with French politics; and though it was impossible for the House not to entertain some feelings on that subject, yet they ought to interfere with it as little as possible. By any unnecessary interposition, they would be unavoidably led to involve themselves in the factions and views of their neighbours, and be drawn out of the circle of their own affairs, which were quite enough for them, without considering whether this or that form of government was most beneficial to the people. His main objections, however, to the treaties were, that they did not provide that security which the country had a right to expect; and it demanded the most serious consideration, that in prosecut-

ing the war to an end, His Majesty's ministers had at last disclosed that important project which they had so anxiously disavowed at first, namely, the determination of forcing the Bourbon family on the throne of France, contrary to the faith of the Crown, contrary to the pledge which had been given to Parliament, and in direct violation of the solemn engagement and promise to the nation of France at large. On former occasions the noble lord had expressly avowed that the professed object of the war was of a very different nature. The idea of forcing any particular person on the French had been repeatedly disclaimed, on the principle that it was carrying their measures further than the justice of the case allowed; but now, forsooth, it was openly and without a blush acknowledged, that however the national honour had been violated, it had always been considered that such a result of the contest would be satisfactory. It was now too late, indeed, to say that they had not resolved to interfere with the internal government of France, but they excused themselves by saying that they might interpose on a necessary occasion.

'It must, indeed, be within the recollection of the House, that when it was put to the noble lord whether the restoration of the Bourbons was the object of the war, he distinctly and repeatedly disclaimed it. It was notorious that, upon this understanding, several gentlemen in that House voted for the war. Yet it was now evident from the treaties upon the table, that the restoration of the Bourbons, and their maintenance upon the throne of France, was really and truly the object of the war. Why, then, was not this object openly and manfully avowed at the outset? With what view was it disguised? Why, obviously for the purpose of obtaining votes in that House, and practising delusion upon England, upon France, and upon Europe. The effect of this delusion and duplicity upon France was, as he understood from the best authority, to dispose the well-informed and the reflecting part of France, who belonged to

no faction—who were as hostile to Bonaparte as they were indifferent to the Bourbons—to look to the allied armies as deliverers, as about to afford the French nation an opportunity of choosing a government agreeable to its own wishes and interests. The effect was, indeed, such as to neutralize a great and respectable proportion of the French, who, instead of supporting Bonaparte, rather endeavoured to keep down the spirit of the people, and induce them to confide in the declaration of the allies. Many Frenchmen believed those declarations, confirmed, as they so often were, by the solemn pledges of the ministers of England. But the believers were dupes. For himself, as well as for several of his friends, he could state that he never was duped by these declarations, or by the pledges of the noble lord, because he always thought that to be the sole object of the war, which events had demonstrated. But he would ask some gentlemen in that House who thought differently, who grounded their votes upon an entire credit in the professions of the noble lord, how they felt? He would appeal to the whole House, to Parliament, and the country, what ought to be the feeling of a proud and honest nation, tenacious of its character for good faith, upon comparing the pledges of its Government at the commencement of the war, with the conduct of that Government at its conclusion. Was there to be no faith, then, in these solemn promises? Could it be a satisfactory feeling to any honest member, who possessed the generous spirit of an Englishman, to know that the engagements of ministers with the French nation had not been kept? His Majesty's government had declared manfully, boldly, and plainly, what their purposes were; but it was one of the most melancholy features of the times, that the bonds of political faith were not so strong as they used to be. Whatever doubt might exist in some minds as to the import of the declaration on which the war was commenced, there could be no possible misunderstanding as to the object of the treaties.

It was no longer to get rid of the dangerous ambition of Bonaparte; it was not to prevent the military power of France from encroaching on neighbouring states. No! it was to maintain the family of the Bourbons on the throne, whatever might be the feelings of the people towards them. If it were pretended, as he understood it had been somewhere said, that the conduct of the French army in invading the Netherlands released the allies from their pledges not to force a government upon France, he would ask the noble lord and his colleagues, whether they, who always alleged that the French people were hostile to Bonaparte and that he was supported only by the army, could consistently maintain that the conduct of that army could release the allies from their solemn pledges to the people, not to force any particular government upon them? But yet this government was imposed upon France; and it appeared that with a view to maintain it, certain precautionary measures, as the noble lord termed them, were adopted.

‘Among those measures a large pecuniary contribution was levied, and this contribution the noble lord called, rather singularly, a main feature of the tranquillizing policy to be acted upon towards France. This was really a most extraordinary view—perhaps peculiar to the mind of the noble lord; for it was the first time he had heard, that to subject any people to a large pecuniary contribution was a good mode of producing their tranquillity. Certainly the noble lord could not have learned that doctrine in England, where a large pecuniary contribution was not very apt to produce popular tranquillity. Indeed, he rather apprehended that an opposite feeling would arise in this country, if that contribution were enforced by a foreign army. Why, then, should the noble lord calculate upon a different result in France? But upon this point it seemed that, according to the doctrine of some gentlemen, the contribution raised in France, instead of falling into the pockets of the people, and

being placed under the control of Parliament, was to become the property of the privy purse, to be applied, perhaps, to enable the Pope to carry home some works of art from Paris, or to erect a statue to Henry IX. (Cardinal York.) He wished, however, that this novel doctrine might now be repelled as inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this country.

‘But as a further precautionary measure to keep the Bourbons upon the throne, it appeared that one hundred and fifty thousand men, composed of different nations, were placed in France. So it was calculated that the presence of this foreign force, under the command of a general who was a native of a country always the rival of France, was likely by degrees to reconcile the French people to the Government which that force had imposed upon them. But what could be the character of the minds which entertained such a calculation? Would not every rational being rather conclude that the presence of such a force must serve to form a perpetual fester in the breast of France, instead of contributing to the tranquillity and contentment of that country? But, according to the express opinion of some gentlemen, that which was most galling and offensive to the French formed an argument to justify the expectation of order and repose. Those only, however, who entertained such a singular notion could, he believed, concur in the views of the Allies in placing an armed force in France. And what estimate must those gentlemen have formed of the character of the French people—distinguished as that people always were for national pride and military spirit? How, he would ask, was that proceeding likely to operate upon them, which was calculated to rouse the most sluggish nation upon earth? How are the French people to feel towards a sovereign twice forced upon them by an army of foreign bayonets? For when that army was in the first instance withdrawn, that sovereign was soon compelled to quit the country; and he would put it

to the candour of any man, if the French people were friendly to that sovereign, why should it be necessary to maintain him on the throne by the assistance of a foreign army? The dilemma was obvious; either the French were friendly to the king, or they were not. If the former, the foreign army was unnecessary to the maintenance of the king; but if unfriendly, the presence of this army was calculated to augment their dislike. For what could be more galling to a Frenchman than to suppose his king guilty of that which was the greatest treason any sovereign could commit; namely, that of inviting the assistance of a foreign force? While the French were our active enemies in war, we must rejoice in their defeat; but now that they were completely fallen, must not every considerate man feel for a people so circumstanced? Was there, besides, no danger to be apprehended from the result of a national movement against the army by which the French were so grievously oppressed? The great power of the Allies would no doubt defeat such a movement; and could any man doubt that the effect of such a defeat would be the dismemberment and partition of France? If that country should be dismembered—if it should cease to be a substantial power in Europe, by the division of its territory among the despots of the north—what then would be the state of this country? In such an event what must be the amount of our establishments, both naval and military, in order to guard against the dangers naturally to be apprehended from the occupation of France by those formidable powers?

‘Now, as to another point. It was stated by the noble lord, that he was pressed by several reflecting persons in France to secure the guarantee of the allies to the maintenance of the constitutional charter. But to this the noble lord refused to accede, while an unreserved guarantee was granted to maintain the king upon the throne. No stipulation was made to support the constitution, which, by the by, had since been

repeatedly violated; while every arrangement was made that appeared to the Allies necessary to provide for the maintenance of the king, nothing was done to preserve the privileges of the people. The Allies, in their eagerness to support the former, overlooked the conciliation of the latter, although that conciliation would have been the best policy. But such policy was not within the consideration of despots.

‘He felt it necessary,’ he added, ‘to make a few remarks on the assertion of the noble lord, that the Whigs of the present day forgot or departed from the doctrines of those whom the noble lord called their progenitors. But this assertion was grossly erroneous, as would appear upon a review of the address moved by Mr. Fox in 1793. For in this address that great man did not propose to protest against our interference in the affairs of any foreign state as a general principle, but against such interference under existing circumstances. The effort, therefore, to fix any imputation upon those whom the noble lord denominated the modern Whigs, by contrasting their conduct with that of the old Whigs, was totally ineffectual. The noble lord’s cry of victory was quite groundless—was, indeed, clumsy. But it was strange that the noble lord should quote precedents from those whom he never before affected to admire. It happened, however, that in all the noble lord’s reference to the conduct of the Whigs, he betrayed a total want of historical accuracy. This want of accuracy was, indeed, particularly evident in the noble lord’s reference to the quadruple and triple alliances, for neither furnished any precedent in favour of the noble lord’s cause. On the contrary, it was notorious that, in the former, the Whigs obtained a guarantee from the allies that they should not interfere with the right of this country to choose its own government, which choice was made decidedly against the doctrine of legitimacy and the divine right of kings; for this country on that occasion dismissed King James, with his hereditary rights,



and selected William, with a view to establish a government congenial to the constitution and assent of the people. Then, again, as to the triple alliance, the object of that confederacy formed by the Whigs was to withstand the principle of legitimacy by preventing the house of Bourbon from becoming possessed of the throne of Spain. How, then, could either of those alliances be said to furnish any precedent in favour of the conduct of the noble lord and the allies, in forcing a government upon France according to the doctrine of legitimacy? But there was a precedent on the occasion of the triple alliance, which the noble lord might have quoted in support of his views; for Louis XIV. at that time sought to force a government upon Spain according to the principle of legitimacy; and the noble lord, in overlooking this circumstance, showed that he was quite as ill-versed in Tory as he was in Whig precedents. The noble lord should, therefore, before he venture to quote again, study history with more attention.

‘With respect to the principle of legitimacy, he (Mr. Horner) fully concurred in what the House had heard so eloquently urged in an early stage of the debate by an honourable member (Mr. Law) upon that subject, namely, that hereditary right was not essential to the maintenance of monarchy: it was, in fact, subsidiary to that object, as our own history demonstrated. For the maintenance of this principle was subordinate to the preservation of the constitution and laws of any country, and meant, not that the direct lineal descendant should be preferred, but that some such member of the family of the monarch should be selected, as might be best disposed and best calculated to maintain the laws and liberties of the country. This was the true, sound doctrine, sanctioned by the wise example of England. But the sole object of the late war, and of the treaties which followed it, was to place a monarch upon the throne of France with-

out any regard to the laws, the liberties, or the wishes of the people. The restoration of that monarch was, no doubt, thought a most desirable object, with a view to re-establish the peace of Europe, by some great statesmen, both in that and the other house of Parliament, who maintained that this object ought to have been avowed at the outset as the great end of the war. But this object was disguised by the noble lord from the consideration of the House, although it was now evident that it was really the chief end of the war. The noble lord, no doubt, also wished to put down all the principles of the Revolution, which he might conceive a very desirable end; and it was consistent with his views that everything that could be accomplished should be done for the sovereigns, and nothing for the people. That such was the intention was pretty evident from what had taken place within the last two years. A great statesman had often observed, that of all revolutions a restoration was the greatest, and that of all innovators an arbitrary monarch was the most dangerous. This, indeed, was fully evinced in what had taken place in Wurtemberg, in Prussia, and in certain states upon the Rhine, where nothing whatever of right was restored to the people, while the authority of sovereigns, whether crowned since or before the Revolution, was established and confirmed. The total disregard, indeed, of popular rights was manifested in various parts of the recent arrangements; but it was sufficient to refer to the instances of Venice and Genoa. But the most odious part of the late arrangements, which appeared from a treaty on the table, was the league of arbitrary sovereigns to meet annually for the purpose of considering their interests; for what rational man could doubt what such sovereigns would, in the long run, consider their interests, how they would decide upon every indication of popular feeling, or upon any movement in favour of popular principles? The noble lord even, who was the advocate of every act

of those sovereigns, who was ready to take up the gauntlet in that House for every one of them, could not be much at a loss to decide upon their probable views, if he would only take the trouble of looking with but common attention to history. Let him look, for instance, to the conduct of Austria towards Hungary and the Low Countries. Let him look at the conduct of three of those sovereigns with respect to Poland. Hence it might be concluded how these sovereigns were likely to decide for their own interests, and against the privileges of the people. But it appeared, from the noble lord's own statement, how these sovereigns felt with regard to popular privileges, from the jealousy which they expressed respecting the freedom of debate in that House.

'The opinions of these military despots on this, as well as upon other subjects, he entirely disregarded. No prospect could be entertained that anything would be done by them for the rights of mankind. His hopes of improvement were derived from a different quarter. They were not directed to innovation, but to a beneficial change effected through the medium of constitutional organs, and the wholesome operation of public opinion. Even though there were reason to believe that the sovereigns appointed these meetings with no preconceived designs against the liberties of the world, even though they formed no deliberate conspiracy against the rights of their subjects, still he could not but view the close association that would appear to be established between such great military powers without great jealousy. The great object of our late struggle was avowed to be the destruction of the military principle in Europe, which was incompatible with the liberties, the happiness, and the social tranquillity of mankind. By unparalleled efforts, by persevering and heroic sacrifices, we had extinguished the great military despotism which agitated and conquered and oppressed the nations of the Continent; but was the situation of Europe much im-

proved if the present system was to be carried into complete effect, and the late arrangements were henceforward to be universally adhered to? We had, indeed, annihilated the most extensive, the universally felt military despotism; but there were now three or four to spring up and to occupy its place. Their union, for purposes connected with their own support and extension, might be nearly as dangerous as the one from which we congratulated ourselves on being delivered. These military sovereigns were to meet and consult for their common security and mutual interests, and nothing could be done or permitted to exist in Europe without their consent. He wished to meet the question of security fairly and impartially; but he could not help inquiring, at first, what were the evils against which security and guarantee were required? What were we to guard against? We were at the end of five and twenty years of convulsion, revolution, and war. In that period the institutions of society, the political arrangements, and the relative condition of the different orders in the civil state, had undergone great changes. A new spirit was created, and had operated powerfully in bringing about the present circumstances. There might be different views entertained, and there were certainly very different opinions delivered on our present situation. Some thought that the revolutionary spirit, which produced such atrocities in its first display and subsequent operations, still existed in France in all its malignity, and that its existence in any degree was inconsistent with national tranquillity or civil order. This opinion has been declared by many members in the House, and was entertained by a great party out of it; but he thought that it was entertained upon false and narrow views. There were other persons who took views entirely opposite, but equally distant from reason and sound policy. They would not be satisfied if France did not at once carry into practice all those ideas of political freedom that they entertained;

they would not be contented with less than seeing France in possession of all those institutions and that free constitution that this country enjoyed, without taking into consideration the difference that existed between the state and the ideas of the two nations. It was needless to say that he disapproved of both these extremes. Whether the Revolution in France was good or bad, whether it had contributed to promote the liberties and rights of the nation or not, it could not be denied that there had arisen out of it a state of things which could not be altered, a spirit which could not be entirely extinguished. If the restoration of the Bourbons proceeded upon the supposition that everything was to be restored to its former condition, and that every new interest was to be destroyed, the project could not be realised; and those who entertained it were not aware of the obstacles they would have to encounter in attempting its execution. Every thing was changed in the Revolution; property had been transferred to new hands; the people had acquired new ideas; the privileged orders had been abolished, or their claims reduced; political institutions were altered, and a new distribution of political power had established a spirit of inquiry, and a disposition to discuss the conduct of rulers was everywhere diffused. It was difficult to calculate the power of these changes. We might guard against the effects of them, but we could not bring things back to their former situation. Happily this was not necessary for our security, as it certainly was not practicable in its execution. The real security which was required from France, after the destruction of that military monarchy which oppressed the greatest part of the continent of Europe, combined the integrity of that kingdom with the establishment of a government agreeably to the wishes, and deserving of the confidence of the people.

‘He would decline,’ he said, ‘entering upon a discussion of the other kinds of security required against France. The

question of territorial cession had been discussed at great length, and he would merely state that, in his opinion, any attempt to dismember France, instead of being likely to afford any security for the continuance of peace, would be the certain source of inquietude and danger. He would not enter upon the propriety of demanding a barrier on the side of the Netherlands, as that seemed to be of the same nature with territorial cessions; but he would say that he could place no reliance on any guarantee founded on the basis of reduction or dismemberment. There was no chance of the stability of peace if guarantees were sought for in measures that must be galling and irritating to the French people; there was no chance of continued tranquillity but in conciliatory arrangements; there was no chance of reconciling them to Europe but by allowing them to establish the government they liked.’

Mr. Horner’s eloquence, however, produced no effect on the great body of the ministerial party, and the address was finally carried by a majority of 163.

Meanwhile, the resistance to the property tax continued to gain ground. The city of London was the first to take the field in opposition to the unpopular impost. Petitions against it were signed, not only by the members of the Whig party, but by many of the ministerialists and the most influential mercantile men, and supported by all the members for the city, complaining of its inquisitorial nature, as well as the burden which it imposed upon the community. It was everywhere denounced as in itself unequal, unjust, and oppressive, and as requiring the most odious means to render it productive. The renewal of it was declared to be a violation of the solemn pledge given to the public when it was imposed, that it should be continued during the war and *no longer*; and it was affirmed to be especially obnoxious because it was rendered necessary by the determination of the Government to maintain a great standing army in time of peace.

Mr. Brougham, who organized the opposition to the tax, followed the tactics by which, four years before, he had succeeded in defeating the Orders in Council. He encouraged those who held his views to send up petitions from every quarter of the country, and every petition, when it was presented, was made the subject of debate. In his account of the skilful strategy which he employed in this famous parliamentary struggle, he says, 'On the termination of the war the Government were determined, instead of repealing the whole income tax, which the Act enforcing it declared to be for and during the continuance of the war and no longer, to retain one-half of it—that is, to reduce it from ten to five per cent.—and thus keep a revenue raised from this source of between seven and eight millions, instead of fifteen.' As soon as this intention was announced several meetings were held, and two or three petitions were presented. The ministers perceived the risk they ran, if the policy should be pursued of continued discussion for a length of time, and saw the vast importance of despatch. Accordingly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, on the Tuesday, for his motion on the Thursday immediately following. The Opposition took the alarm, and Mr. Brougham declared, on presenting a petition numerously signed from one of the London parishes, that if the hurry now indicated should be persevered in he should avail himself of all the means of delay afforded by the forms of the House. Lord Folkestone, one of the most strenuous and, in those days, one of the most active and powerful supporters of the popular cause, vigorously seconded this menace, in which he entirely joined. On the next day more petitions were flung in, more discussions took place, and the Government postponed for a week the introduction of the bill. That week proved quite decisive; for so many meetings were held, and so many petitions sent up, that the bill was put off from time to time, and did not finally make its appearance till the 17th of March.

Above six weeks were almost entirely spent by the House of Commons in receiving the numberless petitions poured in from all quarters against the tax. For it was speedily seen that the campaign of 1812 was renewed, and that the same leaders, Messrs. Brougham and Baring, had the management of the operations.

'At first, the ministers pursued the course of obstinate silence. The Opposition debated each petition in vain; every minister and ministerial member held his peace. No arguments, no facts, no sarcasms, no taunts could rouse them; no expression of the feelings of the country, no reference to the anxiety of particular constituencies, could draw a word from the ministers and their supporters. At length it was perceived that their antagonists did not the less debate, and that consequently the scheme had failed in its purpose of stifling discussion. The only effect of it then was, that all the debating was on one side, and this both became hurtful to the Government in the House, and more hurtful still in the country. They were forced into discussion, therefore, and then began a scene of unexampled interest, which lasted until the second reading of the bill. Each night, at a little after four, commenced the series of debates, which lasted until past midnight. These were of infinite variety. Arguments urged by different speakers; instances of oppression and hardship recounted; anecdotes of local suffering and personal inconvenience; accounts of the remarkable passages at different meetings; personal altercations interspersed with more general matter—all filled up the measure of the night's bill of fare; and all were so blended and so variegated, that no one ever perceived any hour thus spent to pass tediously away. Those not immediately concerned—peers or persons belonging to neither House—flocked to the spectacle which each day presented. The interest excited out of doors kept pace with that of the spectators, and those who carried on these active operations showed a vigour and

constancy of purpose, an unwearied readiness for the combat, which astonished while it animated all beholders. It is recounted of this remarkable struggle, that one night towards the latter end of the period in question, when at a late hour, the House having been in debate from four o'clock, one speaker had resumed his seat, the whole members sitting upon one entire bench rose at once and addressed the Chair—a testimony of unabated spirit and unquenchable animation, which drew forth the loudest cheers from all sides of the House.

'At length came the 17th of March, the day appointed for the division; but it was soon found that this had been, with the debate, wholly anticipated. The usual number of petitions, and even more, were handed in during some hours; little or no debating took place upon them; unusual anxiety for the result of such long-continued labour, and such lengthened excitement, kept all silent and in suspense.'

The debate, which lasted only about half an hour, was very impatiently listened to by the House, as the subject had been previously exhausted, and the members were eager for the division. For the continuance of the tax, there voted 201; against it, 238. The bill was thus thrown out by a majority of thirty-seven. When the result was announced, a loud and prolonged burst of cheering arose in the House, which was caught up and re-echoed by the crowd that thronged the lobbies and avenues to the assembly.

The decision was totally unexpected both by the Ministry and the Opposition. The former had confidently calculated on a majority of forty. The greater part of the opponents of the tax expected to lose by twenty. 'The most sanguine,' says Sir Samuel Romilly, 'only hoped that the ministers would have a majority of not more than five or six.' The result, however, was cordially welcomed by the nation at large, as a relief from an oppressive burden, galling, not merely from its weight, but from the manner of its imposition.

Even the most steadfast members of the Tory party rejoiced in the issue. Sir Walter Scott expressed his satisfaction that the Government had been defeated on this question, and that a burdensome impost had been abolished; and Mr. Plumer Ward writing from Paris, says, 'If I had been in the House I would have voted in the minority, and yet I confess I am not sorry it was a minority; not that I am by any means convinced that the income tax ought to have been repealed, but because I think the Ministry wanted beating upon something, no great matter what.' The great body of the people rejoiced that an obnoxious, unequal, and oppressive impost had been abolished, and many hoped that the Government would in this way be compelled to conduct the affairs of the nation in future on a more economical scale than they had done in times past.

The lesson thus given, by a House comprehending a large ministerial majority, was not at first taken in good part. The Ministry might easily have supplied the deficiency which the abolition of the property tax had made in their financial scheme by the temporary suspension of the sinking fund, which absorbed no less than £15,000,000 a year. But they had recourse to a different and most injudicious expedient, and resolved to borrow the money to supply the deficiency. Not only so, but in order to conciliate the agricultural interest they resolved to abandon the 'war malt tax,' as it was called; the two shillings a bushel which was imposed in 1804, in addition to the original duty of two shillings and fourpence, and had continued till this time. 'In consequence of the decision on the income tax,' said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'it would be necessary to have recourse to the money market, and it was of little consequence that the amount should be increased by the amount of the calculated produce of the war duty.' And Lord Castlereagh said 'it was a matter of indifference whether they took seven or eight millions.' 'Their throwing the handle after

the hatchet,' wrote Sir Walter Scott, 'and giving up the malt duty because they had lost the other, was droll enough.' The sum which by them was thought of so little consequence amounted to £2,700,000 a year. Their defeat on the property tax, and their surrender of the malt war tax, involved a loss to the budget of upwards of £10,800,000 a year, which was made up by borrowing £9,000,000 from the bank, and £2,500,000 by the issue of Exchequer bills.

The financial position of the Government and the country was at this time in a most unsatisfactory state, and the Opposition made strenuous efforts time after time to reduce the expenditure on the army and navy, especially on the former. They contended that it was totally unnecessary to keep up in time of peace so large a military force as the Ministry proposed. Great Britain, from her insular situation, was by nature a naval and maritime state, and she was bound by paramount considerations to preserve and cultivate the advantages necessarily belonging to that position. Now that peace had been confirmed, a large military establishment was not required for the defence of the country, and might be employed to subvert its liberty and constitution.

Such fears, however, were declared by the prime minister to be 'extraordinary and unreasonable.' Exclusive of the troops required for service in India, and for the army of occupation in France, the total number of men proposed in the estimates for 1816 was 99,000. These were arranged under four heads: those stationed in Great Britain; those in Ireland; those in the colonies we had possessed previously to the war; and those in the colonies which we had acquired during its progress. It was proposed to station 25,000 troops in Great Britain; the same number in Ireland; 23,000 in our old colonies, and 22,200 in the new. Three thousand men were to be kept as a reserve for relief to the colonial garrisons.

With respect to the old colonies, Lord Palmerston, the Secretary at War, showed

that the estimates provided only 7000 men more than had garrisoned them previously to the outbreak of the war. In the whole of our North American possessions, the Bahamas included, there were only 4000 men more than there had been in 1791. 'There were many causes,' he urged, 'for this augmentation. The increasing population required larger means of defence—*certainly not to be used against the inhabitants.* Upper Canada had been almost entirely peopled and settled since the war commenced. He did not insinuate any suspicions of broils with the United States. He hoped that each country had equally made the discovery that peace was the preferable policy; still, as a matter of political prudence, we must always provide for possible contingencies. He was firmly convinced that amongst nations weakness would never be a foundation for security. The navigation between the two countries was, moreover, suspended during the winter, and in the case of a rupture, *many months might elapse ere reinforcements could be sent.* At Antigua there had been established a considerable naval arsenal, which involved the presence of an additional military force. The new or captured colonies were Ceylon, Mauritius, the Cape, the African settlements, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucie, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, Malla, and the Ionian Islands. In all, the enemy's garrisons there had capitulated to the number of 30,000. This was after all their losses by deaths in action and from sickness. The Government only proposed 22,000 for these colonies, not two-thirds of the garrisons that the enemy had kept up. The 25,000 men for the home station exceeded by 7000 the numbers in 1791. But the large increase in our colonial possessions rendered it necessary to keep up a considerable increased reserve at home.

'The plain question for the House to consider was, whether they should reduce all the military establishments of the country below their just level, and whether, if they did so, the saving would bear any compari-

son with the injury that it might produce ; for, after all, even if the plans of retrenchment so loudly called for were adopted, the diminution of expenditure would not be half so great as the country and the House seemed to imagine. Would it, therefore, be a wise and expedient course, under these circumstances, to abdicate the high rank we now maintained in Europe, to take our station amongst secondary powers, and confine ourselves entirely to our own island ? He would again repeat that the question was not whether we should carry into effect such diminution of the military establishment of the country as would save the people from the income tax—for he contended that no possible reductions in those establishments could accomplish that end—but whether we should compel the Crown to abandon all our colonial possessions, the fertile sources of our commercial wealth, and descend from that high and elevated station which it had cost us so much labour, so much blood, and so much treasure to attain ?

These arguments appear to have been at the time satisfactory both to the House and to the country ; and though Mr. Wilberforce lent the weight of his authority to the Opposition on this question, all attempts to reduce the military establishment proposed by the Ministry were rejected by considerable majorities.

The attacks frequently made at this time on the unbounded extravagance of the Prince Regent commanded a greater amount of public sympathy. As Thackeray remarks, if the prince had been a manufacturing town, or a populous rural district, he could not have cost more. When he came of age he obtained an income of £62,000 a-year, and Parliament not only voted £30,000 to pay off his debts, but bestowed on him an additional sum of the same amount to start in life ; and yet, within a year, he had incurred debt to the amount of £160,000. Two years afterwards, when the king settled on him an additional £10,000 a-year, his debts had increased

to £193,000. At the time of his marriage, in 1794, Parliament was obliged to vote £650,000 to extinguish his liabilities. But untaught by experience, the worthless Sybarite persisted in his course of the most reckless extravagance. In the session of 1815 it transpired that he had expended no less than £350,000 beyond the large sum (£800,000) voted by Parliament for the support of the royal state and establishments. It appeared, also, that though the Droits of the Crown and of the Admiralty, the amount of which was not made known, were constantly applied in aid of the civil list, large arrears had still to be provided for. In these circumstances, and at a season of great national distress, it is no matter of surprise that Sir Robert Heron should have been greeted with loud cheers and laughter when he denounced the royal extravagance in unmeasured terms. ‘Your armies,’ he said, ‘have expelled one despot and set up another : you have a Prince who has so much dignity that he expends as great a sum on a thatched cottage as another monarch would on a palace ; so dignified is he, so magnificent are his ideas, that he cannot endure to see the same furniture in his house for two successive years ; he is such a friend to trade that he cannot give less than 800 guineas for a clock ; and such a protector is he of the arts that he pays £6000 for a Chinese cabinet.’

Mr. Brougham used much stronger language in describing the personal habits of the reigning prince and his disreputable associates, and was thought to have somewhat compromised the Whig leaders, as well as to have given deep offence to the Tories, when he poured out his burning indignation on those ‘who, in utter disregard of the feelings of an oppressed and insulted nation, proceeded from one wasteful expenditure to another ; who decorated and crowded their houses with the splendid results of their extravagances ; who associated with the most profligate of human beings ; who, when the gaols were filled

with wretches (sentenced to capital punishment), could not suspend for a moment their thoughtless amusements to end the sad suspense between life and death.'

Sir S. Romilly writes on the 20th March: 'A motion of disapprobation of the increase which has lately been made of the salary of Secretary to the Admiralty in time of peace, from £3000 to £4000 a year, was rejected by a majority of 29; there being for the motion 130, and against it 159. In the course of the debate upon it, Brougham, who supported the motion, made a violent attack upon the Regent, whom he described as devoted, in the recesses of his palace, to the most vicious pleasures, and callous to the distresses and sufferings of others, in terms which would not have been too strong to have described the latter days of Tiberius. Several persons who would have voted for the motion were so disgusted that they went away without voting; and more, who wished for some tolerable pretext for not voting against ministers, and who on this occasion could not vote with them, availed themselves of this excuse, and went away too; and it is generally believed that, but for this speech of Brougham's, the ministers would have been again in a minority. If this had happened, many persons believe, or profess to believe, that the ministers would have been turned out. Poor Brougham is loaded with the reproaches of his friends; and many of them who are most impatient to get into office, look upon him as the only cause that they are still destined to labour on in an unprofitable opposition. I have no doubt that, whatever had been the division, the ministers would still have continued in office. But it is not the less true that Brougham's speech was very injudicious as well as very unjust, for with all the prince's faults, and they are great enough, it is absurd to speak of him as if he were one of the most sensual and unfeeling tyrants that ever disgraced a throne.'

The distress which existed in the country at this period affected all classes without distinction. The difficulties of the agri-

cultural portion of the community occupied a large share of the deliberations of a parliament in which the landed interest was mainly represented, and a committee was appointed to receive reports and opinions from different parts of the kingdom. Wheat, which during the war had frequently reached 120s. a quarter, was now selling at 52s. 6d., and the distress of the farmers was consequently very great. Not a few of them had been obliged to throw up their farms. The landlords were under the necessity of giving reductions of rent amounting on an average to twenty-five per cent. It was alleged that the loss which the landlords suffered in consequence of the general depression amounted to no less than £9,000,000 a year. The distress was not less among the manufacturing than among the agricultural population. 'There was a very general depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of losses and failures among the agricultural and commercial and manufacturing and mining and shipping and building interests, which marked that period as one of the most extensive suffering and distress.' The continental market was virtually closed against British manufactures. Our customers there had been impoverished by their protracted and desolating warfare; and now that peace had been restored, they were naturally eager to supply their wants by the exertions of their own industry. The large quantities of goods which had been accumulated in the warehouses of British merchants and manufacturers could not find a sale at home, and were forced into continental markets, where they were obliged to be offered at prices much below prime cost. 'English goods were selling for much less in Holland and the north of Europe than in London or Manchester. In most places they were lying a dead weight without any sale at all, and either no returns whatsoever were received, or pounds came back for thousands that had gone forth. The manufacturers, in consequence, found it necessary either entirely to suspend or



greatly to reduce the fabrication of their goods.' The value of labour was thus not only greatly reduced, but large numbers of workmen in almost every branch were thrown out of employment and reduced to great distress. To make matters worse, at this critical juncture a large addition was made to the ranks of the unemployed by the reductions in the various branches of the public service. The navy, which in 1815 had required 100,000 men, now employed only 33,000. The militia was disbanded, and the regular army greatly reduced. The result was that at least 200,000 able-bodied men were now added to the multitudes of labourers wanting employment.

It was not among the labouring classes alone that this distress prevailed. It pervaded every department of society. 'Every avenue,' said Sir Walter Scott, 'is now choked with applicants whose claims are very strong; for the number of disbanded officers and public servants, dismissed in consequence of Parliament turning restive and refusing the income tax, is great and increasing. Economy is the order of the day, and I can assure you they are shaving very close.' In the debate on the address Brougham affirmed that 'the number of bankruptcies was daily increasing, and that the home trade, no less than the foreign, presented another melancholy exception to the boasted "flourishing condition" described in the address. The home trade, the substantial groundwork of national industry, was at a stand-still. The landlord received no rent, the tenant could sell no corn. Shops were everywhere empty, and tradesmen's books covered with debts, on which not one per cent. could be collected.' Mr. Baring, a high authority on such questions, said that 'although on the part of the agricultural interests the distress was greatest and indeed extreme, yet distress had also pervaded every branch of commerce.' The duke of Bedford mentioned in the House of Lords that upon two estates in Norfolk, lands, in one instance of 5000 acres, in another of 3000 acres, were offered to tenants

rent free if they would cultivate them, but none would take them. The gaols were crowded with people unable to bear up against the pressure of the times. The farmers were imprisoned for debt, and the poorer classes, unable to procure subsistence in a legal way, became poachers and robbers of farm-yards. These were not the only sufferers. Many of the beneficed clergy were in a state of the utmost distress. The farmers were unable to pay their tithes, and many of the clergy were reduced to such extreme distress that they could not even effect the annual insurance on their lives, which formed in many cases the only means by which they could secure a provision for their families. 'Distress,' said another member, 'pervaded every branch of commerce.'

The universal suffering and misery which pervaded the country had hitherto been alleviated by the cheapness of bread; and in the ignorance which then prevailed respecting the laws of economic science, it had actually been proposed, in order to promote the interests of the agriculturists and raise the price of corn, that the clause in the corn-bill of the previous year, permitting the warehousing of foreign grain duty free, should be repealed. This was one of a series of resolutions proposed by Mr. Western, member for Essex, declaratory of the agricultural distress, and recommending relief from certain burdens which he alleged pressed heavily on the land, and the imposing of additional duties and restrictions on the importation of all articles the produce of foreign agriculture—rapeseed, linseed, tallow, cheese, and butter, as well as corn. At the time when the representatives of the landed interest were thus demanding unequal and unjust remission of taxation, conjoined with increased protection, a bill, hurriedly passed in 1815, absolutely prohibited the importation of corn till the price of wheat rose to 80s. The demand that foreign corn should no longer be warehoused duty free, simply meant that no precaution should be taken against a

season of dearth, in order that agriculturists might obtain the full benefit of the famine prices that would then ensue. The debate on Western's resolutions was adjourned, and before it was again resumed events occurred which put a stop for a time to such ill-judged projects, and aggravated the distress of the people by raising the price of grain, without, however, bringing any relief to the farmers.

The season proved singularly inclement. The spring was wet and chilly, and the summer witnessed almost incessant rains and cold stormy winds. 'As for spring,' wrote Sir Walter Scott to Mr. Morritt, M.P., 'that is past praying for. In the month of November last people were skating in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and now in the middle of May the snow is lying white on Arthur's Seat and on the range of the Pentlands. It is really fearful, and the sheep are perishing by scores.' This inclement weather was as severely felt on the Continent as in our own country, and the apprehensions of a deficient crop were universal. The harvest everywhere failed. The price of corn rose with appalling rapidity. In January the average price of wheat was 52s., in May it was 76s. 4d. By the end of the year it had risen to 103s., and rye, barley, and beans had also doubled their average price at the beginning of the year.

'In Radnorshire and Herefordshire,' wrote Romilly, 'the prospect is extremely alarming. There must be a very great scarcity of wheat and barley. The potatoes, too, which form so large a part of the food of the poor, have greatly failed; and to add to their distress, the long continuance of rain has prevented them from getting peat from the moors, and laying in their usual stock of winter fuel.' 'The distress in Yorkshire,' wrote Lord Darlington, 'was unprecedented; there was a total stagnation of the little trade they had; wheat was already more than a guinea a bushel, and no old corn in store; the potato crop had failed; the harvest on the

8th of October was only beginning, the corn in many parts being still green; and he feared a total defalcation of all grain that season from the deluge of rain which had fallen for many weeks, and was still falling.'

Similar accounts were received from every part of the country, and the distress was universal. In one parish, containing 573 inhabitants, 419 were in receipt of parochial relief. In another, six out of every seven were paupers, and the poor rate amounted to £1 1s. in the pound. In a third parish there was only one inhabitant who was not either a bankrupt or a pauper. When wheat was at from £4 to £5 a quarter, and able-bodied men were earning only sixpence a day, it was no matter of surprise that thousands were starving, and that riots were taking place in almost every part of the country. The ignorant peasantry believed that the enormous rise in the price of bread was caused by a combination among the farmers, and they revenged themselves for their sufferings by setting fire to farm buildings, barns, and corn-stacks, and breaking and burning thrashing machines. Incendiary fires were seen blazing everywhere throughout the purely agricultural districts, especially in the eastern counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. At Brandon, near Bury, a mob of 1500 labourers assembled, bearing flags with the motto 'Bread or Blood,' and demanded that wheat should be sold at half a crown a bushel, and beef at fourpence a pound. Annoyed at a refusal they demolished the houses of the butchers and bakers, whom they seem to have regarded as confederates of their chief enemies the farmers. Similar riotous proceedings took place at Bury, Norwich, Cambridge, and other places in the neighbourhood. The most alarming disturbances occurred in the Isle of Ely, where the peasantry were peculiarly ignorant and rude. On the 22nd of May a large body of labourers assembled at the small town of Littleport, where they commenced their proceedings by demolishing and plundering during the night the house of a Mr. Vachel, a clergy-

man and a magistrate. They next broke open the shops and the cellars of the public houses, which they emptied of their contents. The scenes of drunkenness and violence which ensued so terrified the principal inhabitants that they fled for their lives, leaving their houses to be wrecked and plundered by the infuriated mob. Leaving Littleport, it was said, in the condition of a town which had been sacked by a besieging army, the insurgents marched to Ely, where they committed similar excesses, and extorted large sums of money from the inhabitants. The military had at length to be called out, and were obliged to fire on the mob before the disturbances were suppressed, and seventy-three of the most conspicuous of the rioters arrested. The Government considered it necessary to send down a special commission to Ely, for the trial of the prisoners. Thirty-four of them were convicted and condemned to death on charges of burglary and robbery, and five were executed.

Though these riotous proceedings attracted special attention to the distress existing among the agricultural population, the workmen in the manufacturing districts were suffering equal privations. This was especially the case with the colliers, miners, and ironworkers. Upwards of two-thirds of the furnaces in Shropshire were out of blast at the end of August, thus throwing out of employment between 7000 and 8000 puddlers and an equal number of colliers. In the adjoining county of Stafford the privations of the workmen were even more severe, some of them being actually compelled to eat the cabbage-stalks in their cottage gardens. Mr. Brougham stated in the House of Commons that out of a population of 84,000 persons in Birmingham, 27,500 were in receipt of relief. A body of colliers, who were thrown out of employment by the stoppage of the ironworks at Bilston, resolved to go up to London for the purpose of laying a statement of their sufferings before the Prince Regent; and they harnessed themselves to two waggons

of coals, which they intended to present to him. They bore a placard, 'Willing to work, but none of us to beg,' and showed every disposition to behave themselves in a lawful and orderly manner. They asked, indeed, the magistrates to give them certificates that they had conducted themselves with propriety. The Home Secretary judiciously sent some trustworthy magistrates, with a strong body of police, to meet these poor fellows, and persuade them to return home. On receiving payment for their coals, along with some charitable assistance, the colliers, one party of whom had reached St. Albans and another had advanced as far as Maidenhead, were easily induced to follow this advice. Other detachments of unemployed colliers readily adopted a similar expedient to obtain relief. One party from Wolverhampton drew a waggon through Chester to Liverpool, and others yoked themselves in a similar way to loaded waggons, which they drew in other directions, but were induced by the authorities to return home quietly. Later in the year the miners, colliers, and ironworkers in South Wales, who were on greatly reduced wages, though not suffering such privations as the men in Staffordshire, threatened to resort to violent measures. A large body of the workmen of Newport and Tredegar assembled in a tumultuous manner, to the number of 10,000 or 12,000, extinguished the blast at Merthyr, and several other places, but did little other damage. The military were hurriedly called out to Newport, but fortunately did not require to act, as the mob peaceably dispersed.

The working classes in England, both agricultural and manufacturing, left as they were in a disgraceful state of ignorance, thought that the introduction of machinery had been the main cause of the reduction of their wages. Hence, whenever a depression of trade took place, they avenged themselves by destroying the machinery to which they imagined their privations were owing. In 1812 an organized system of riot and destruction on an extensive scale had been

devised in Nottinghamshire and the adjacent counties, the seat of the lace manufacture. The depredations were carried on with a greater degree of secrecy and management than had ever been known in any similar proceedings; so much so, that the magistrates could not take upon themselves to apprehend the persons whom they suspected of having committed the outrages. It was peculiarly easy for parties who were ill-disposed to perpetrate those illegal acts; for, in many instances, the machinery was used in isolated houses which were far from any neighbourhood, and persons having secreted themselves about the premises felt no difficulty in destroying the frames, which could be performed with very little noise. In one instance the mischief had been done actually in sight of the military; and in another, they were not more than a hundred yards from the premises. The rioters had also occasionally gone to the villages in bodies of about fifty men. Having stationed sentinels at the different avenues, the remainder employed themselves in destroying all the frames; and this was executed with so much secrecy that not a trace of the parties was left in the course of a few minutes. The machine-breakers were called Luddites, after a person of weak intellect named Ned Ludd, who one day broke a couple of stocking frames in a house where a lad that was tormenting him had taken refuge.

These Luddite riots at length became so formidable and destructive that the Parliament passed an act 'for the more exemplary punishment of persons destroying or injuring any stocking or lace frames or other machines or engines used in the framework-knitting manufactory, or any articles or goods in such frames or machines,' and making the offence capital. Far-sighted statesmen clearly perceived that the true way of putting an end to such disturbances was not by increased severity of punishment, but by the diffusion of enlightened views among the working classes. And the futility of such legislation was well

exposed in the protest which the earls of Lauderdale and Rosslyn entered against the Draconic measure of 1812. 'We agree in the opinion so generally expressed in this House that the conduct of the manufacturers in destroying frames and other machinery used in our manufactures must proceed from mistaken views of their own interest, as they, more than any other class of His Majesty's subjects, are deeply interested in the preservation of machinery, to the improvement of which we owe our existence as a manufacturing country. But we think it our duty strongly, and in distinct terms, to reprobate the unprecedented folly of attempting to enlighten the minds of men in regard to what is beneficial for themselves by increased severity of punishment, whilst every sound principle of criminal legislation makes us regard such an addition to the long list of offences already subjected to capital punishment by the laws of this country with astonishment and disgust; and every feeling of humanity leads us to express the utmost horror at the wanton cruelty of punishing our fellow-creatures with death for those culpable acts, more injurious to themselves than to any other part of the community, to which, through mistaken views of policy, the increasing distress of the times has induced them to resort.'

The wisdom of these observations was strikingly manifested by the utter failure of this sanguinary system of legislation to put an end to the offences against which it was directed. During the distress of 1816 the Luddite outrages were renewed with increased violence, and machines were destroyed with the same secrecy as in 1812. Bands of armed men, commanded by 'General Ludd,' marched through the country under cover of the darkness, breaking open houses and factories, destroying the furniture, demolishing lace frames and other machinery, and scattering the unfinished work on the highways. Distress, discontent, and riots were the order of the day in every part of the country. The

Home Secretary, in a letter to his brother-in-law (28th October), says, 'There was a serious riot at Birmingham, and though quelled at the time with the assistance of the military, it was expected to recur. The neighbourhood of Manchester was very bad, and Nottingham hopeless.' The chief police officer of Manchester reported, 'The lower orders are everywhere meeting in large bodies, and are very clamorous. Delegates from all quarters are moving about amongst them as they were before the last disturbance, and they talk of a general union of the lower orders throughout the kingdom.'

A riot which took place at this period in the metropolis served to confirm these apprehensions. On the 15th of November a meeting was held at Spa-fields of 'distressed manufacturers, artizans, and others, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Prince Regent and the legislature to adopt immediately such means as will relieve the sufferers from the misery which now overwhelms them.' The leader of the movement was Henry Hunt, 'Orator Hunt,' as he was called, a liveryman of London, who possessed some property in Somersetshire. He had been a candidate for Bristol at the general election in 1812, and had gained some notoriety by his scurrilous abuse of all the leading public men of the day, except Sir Francis Burdett, Cobbett, and Lord Cochrane. Sir Samuel Romilly calls him 'a most unprincipled demagogue,' and his conduct showed that he was empty, ignorant, and selfish, and was actuated only by his own restless vanity, and cared nothing for the welfare of the working classes, whose applause he eagerly coveted. Even Cobbett said of him that 'the boisterous halloing of multitudes was more pleasing to Hunt than the chinking of the plough-traces, the bleating of the lambs, or the song of the nightingale.'

After some inflammatory speeches from 'Orator Hunt' and his associates, the meeting was adjourned to the 2nd of December, ostensibly to receive the answer of the Regent to their petition. A placard was issued, headed 'England expects every man to do

his duty,' and describing in inflammatory language

'The present state of Great Britain.

Four millions in distress!!!

Four millions embarrassed!!!

One million and a half fear distress!!!

Half a million live in splendid luxury!!!

Our brothers in Ireland are in a worse state.

The climax of misery is complete—it can go no farther.

Death would now be a relief to millions.'

The meeting was announced for twelve o'clock; but when that hour arrived, Hunt was not present. He professed to think that 'one o'clock was the time;' but it is suspected that he had a shrewd anticipation that the meeting was likely to lead to a riot, and was therefore late. A considerable crowd had collected at the hour appointed, with tricoloured flags, and inflammatory speeches were addressed to them from a waggon, in which arms and ammunition were deposited, by a Mr. Watson, 'an indigent person of the medical profession,' his son, a fanatical and foolish youth; a notorious demagogue named Thistlewood, and other individuals of the same class. The elder Watson commenced the proceedings with a violent address to the crowd. 'Are we to go on,' he asked, 'from time to time, from month to month, from year to year, calling to the father of his people, as he is called, in vain for redress?' (Cries of 'No! no!') 'The present, then, is the time to do something.' Watson was followed by his son, whose speech was much more violent than his father's. 'If they will not give us what we want,' he cried, 'shall we not take it? Are you willing to take it? If I jump down among you, will you follow me?' Loud shouts of 'Yes! yes!' followed these appeals. Thus encouraged, he leaped from the waggon, seized a tricoloured flag, and, followed by the mob, rushed off to take the Tower. Passing through Clerkenwell and Smithfield to Snow Hill, the crowd entered a gunsmith's shop and seized all the arms in it; and the younger Watson shot and severely wounded a gentleman who remonstrated against these proceedings. Con-

tinuing their march along Cheapside, the rioters passed through the Royal Exchange, and on leaving it were confronted by the lord mayor and aldermen, who secured three of the most prominent of the rioters, and so intimidated the others that they turned aside into the Minories. Here they renewed their attack on the shops of the gunsmiths; but learning that troops were collecting from different parts of the city, they broke up and dispersed. The lord mayor and city magistrates were warmly commended for their courage and judicious conduct, which mainly contributed to the suppression of the riot

The gloom which had covered the year 1816, from its commencement to its close, was somewhat relieved by the marriage, on the 2nd of May, of the Princess Charlotte, the only child of the Prince Regent, to Prince Leopold (afterwards chosen king of the Belgians), the youngest son of the Duke of Saxe Coburg. The union was cordially hailed both by the people and the Parliament; and without a dissentient voice the sum of £60,000 was voted for the princess, and the same amount annually for the support of her establishment. The beautiful seat of Claremont was also purchased for her residence.

## CHAPTER V.

The People's Charter—Hampden Clubs—Attempt on the Life of the Prince Regent—Disaffection among the People—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—The Blanketeers—Derbyshire Insurrection—Oliver the Government Spy—Spa-Fields Rioters—Trial of Watson for High Treason—Disaffection in Scotland—Trial of the Glasgow Weavers.

THE year 1817 opened amid general anxiety and alarm. The demand for parliamentary reform, which had been silenced by the protracted struggle with Napoleon, was now revived, and was considered by the wealthier classes as equivalent to revolution. The Radicals, as the reformers were termed, were regarded as the offscourings of society—the enemies of Government, of the constitution, and of religion. They advocated annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, abolition of all property qualifications for members of Parliament, and paid representatives of the people in the House of Commons. For the purpose of obtaining these six points of the 'People's Charter' a number of clubs and societies were formed in different parts of the country. The earliest of these was the Society of Spencean Philanthropists, who derived their designation from an enthusiast named Spence, a Yorkshire schoolmaster, who had devised a plan for making all the land of the country the property of the State, and dividing all the produce for the support of the people. The members of this society held 'sectional meetings,' and discussed 'subjects calculated to enlighten the human understanding.' One of these notable projects was the abolition of machinery, and they went so far as to petition Parliament in favour of this 'enlightened' scheme. They had among their leaders Thistlewood, and some other desperate plotters, who argued 'that it was an easy matter to upset Government if handled in a proper manner.'

The original Hampden Club, which was founded in London in 1811, for the purpose

of promoting parliamentary reform and the freedom of election, was of a much higher grade, and included among its members the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Byron, Lord Oxford, and a number of highly influential country gentlemen, like Mr. Fawkes of Farnley, Mr. Hodges of Hemsted, Mr. Ducane of Braxted, Mr. Rashleigh of Prideaux, and many other large landed proprietors, with Sir Francis Burdett as its chairman. The London Union, which was founded in 1812, was also a respectable and influential organization. During the widespread distress of 1816, however, Hampden Clubs were established in many of the large towns, and the villages and districts around them. Samuel Bamford, who was secretary to one of these clubs, distinctly affirms, and no doubt truly, that their object was limited to the attainment of parliamentary reform. He attributes this result to the writings of William Cobbett, which 'were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts of South Lancashire, in those of Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham; also in many of the Scottish manufacturing towns. Their influence was speedily visible; he directed his readers to the true cause of their sufferings—misgovernment; and to its proper correction—parliamentary reform. Riots soon became scarce, and from that time they have never obtained their ancient vogue with the labourers of this country. Cobbett's books were printed in a cheap form; the labourers read them, and thenceforward became deliberate and systematic in their proceedings. Nor were there wanting men of their own class to encourage and direct the new converts. The Sunday

schools of the preceding thirty years had produced many working men of sufficient intelligence to become readers, writers, and speakers in the village meetings for parliamentary reform. Some, also, were found to possess a rude poetic talent, which rendered their effusions popular, and bestowed an additional charm on their assemblages; and by such various means, anxious listeners at first, and then zealous proselytes, were drawn from the cottages of quiet vales and dingles, to the weekly readings and discussions of the Hampden Clubs.'

The opinion which the Government and the wealthier and middle classes of society entertained respecting the influence of Cobbett's writings was very different from that of the Reformers, and they regarded the spread of the political clubs with undisguised apprehension and alarm. The secret societies, which were spreading in some parts of the country to every village, seemed to them intended to prepare for 'a very wide and extensive plan of insurrection,' which it would require prompt and strong measures to repress. The speech of the Prince Regent at the opening of Parliament expressed a conviction, that the two Houses would without doubt feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence. 'I am too well convinced,' his Royal Highness went on to say, 'of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of His Majesty's subjects to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them; but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected.'

It unfortunately happened at this juncture that the universal unpopularity of the Regent led to his being grossly insulted on his return from opening Parliament. The windows of the state-carriage were broken, in all probability by a stone, though some persons alleged at the time, by a bullet from

an air-gun. A conference was immediately held between the two Houses, and an address to the Prince Regent on this incident was agreed to. A proclamation was issued next day, offering a reward of £1000 for such information as would lead to the discovery of the perpetrators of the attack on his Royal Highness; and when, on the same day, the debate on the Address was resumed, repressive measures were loudly called for, and 'the discontent which had been partly fomented by harsh and unequal legislation, was made the excuse for legislation still harsher and more unequal.' The Opposition, while lauding the 'exemplary patience with which all ranks had hitherto borne the difficulties under which they labour,' insisted that 'to maintain this disposition, it is incumbent on Parliament, by a severe and vigilant exercise of its powers, to prove that sacrifices so painfully obtained are strictly limited to the real necessities of the State.' But the Government offered no response to the appeals made on behalf of a rigid and unsparing economy, and declined to pledge themselves to make a reduction of every possible expense. They informed the Parliament, however, that they were prepared to deal with the disaffection which existed among large bodies of the people; and though the riots had been quelled, and the law as it stood had been found quite adequate for the preservation of the public peace, the ministry were so ill-advised as to ask powers for greater coercion, instead of trying the effect of lenient remedies. There is a wide difference, which the Government apparently did not understand, between smothering a flame and extinguishing it.

On the 3rd of February a message from the Prince Regent was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, to the effect that he had given orders that there should be laid before them papers containing information respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tran-



quillity, to alienate the affections of His Majesty's subjects from his person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and constitution.

The message of the Prince Regent was referred to a secret committee of each House. The reports of these committees, which were presented on the 18th and 19th of the same month, were identical in opinion and almost in language. One-third of the report of the Lords was devoted to a narrative of the riot in the metropolis, which it sought to elevate into a treasonable conspiracy against the government and the constitution of the kingdom; and the contemptible creatures concerned in that disturbance are described as an organized and formidable body, fraught with imminent danger to society. 'A traitorous conspiracy,' it was said, 'has been formed in the metropolis for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of a general insurrection, the established government, laws, and constitution of the kingdom, and of effecting a general plunder and division of property. Various schemes were formed for this purpose. Amongst them was a general and forcible liberation of all persons confined in the different prisons in the metropolis. It was also proposed to set fire to various barracks, and steps were taken to ascertain and prepare means for effecting this purpose. An attack upon the Tower and Bank, and other points of importance, was, after previous consultations, finally determined upon. Pikes and arms, to a certain extent, were actually provided, and leaders were named, among whom the points of attack were distributed. It appears quite certain that the acts of plunder which were perpetrated for the purpose of procuring arms, and the other measures of open insurrection which followed, were not accidental or unpremeditated, but had been deliberately preconcerted as parts of a general plan of rebellion and revolution.'

With regard to the abettors of the Spa-Fields riot, the committee were of opinion

that their designs were of the most atrocious kind. 'It appears clearly,' they say, 'that the object is, by means of societies or clubs, established, or to be established, in all parts of Great Britain, under pretence of parliamentary reform, to infect the minds of all classes of the community, and particularly of those whose situation most exposes them to such impressions, with a spirit of discontent and disaffection, of insubordination, and contempt of all law, religion, and morality, and to hold out to them the plunder of all property as the main object of their efforts and the restoration of their natural rights; and no endeavours are omitted to prepare them to take up arms on the first signal for accomplishing their designs. The country societies are principally to be found in and in the neighbourhood of Leicester, Loughborough, Nottingham, Mansfield, Derby, Sheffield, Blackburn, Manchester, Birmingham, and Norwich, and in Glasgow and its vicinity; but they extend and are spreading in some parts of the country to almost every village.'

The report of the committee of the House of Commons ascribes the origin of the disturbances to the Spenceans, and describes at great length the Spa-Fields riot. The Hampden Clubs, the origin of which we have seen, were in the estimation of the committee mere nests of the worst type of revolutionists. 'The first thing,' they say, 'which has here forced itself upon their observation is the widely-diffused ramification of a system of clubs, associated professedly for the purpose of parliamentary reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. These clubs in general designate themselves by the same name of Hampden Clubs. On the professed object of their institution, they appear to be in communication and connection with the club of that name in London. It appears to be part of the system of these clubs to promote an extension of clubs of the same name and nature, so widely as, if possible, to include every

village in the kingdom. The leading members are active in the circulation of publications likely to promote their object. Petitions, ready prepared, have been sent down from the metropolis to all societies in the country disposed to receive them. The communication between these clubs takes place by means of delegates. Delegates from these clubs in the country have assembled in London, and are expected to assemble again early in March. Whatever may be the real object of these clubs in general, your committee have no hesitation in stating, from information on which they place full reliance, that in far the greater number of them, and particularly in those which are established in the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and which are composed of the lower order of artizans, nothing short of a revolution is the object expected and avowed.'

The committee admit that the disaffection had been confined to the principal manufacturing districts, where the distress was more prevalent and numbers more easily collected; and that even in many of these districts privations had been borne with exemplary patience and resignation, and the attempts of the disaffected had been disappointed. But they nevertheless say in conclusion, that 'with all these allowances, they cannot contemplate the activity and arts of the leaders in this conspiracy, and the members whom they have already seduced and may seduce; the oaths by which many of them are bound together; the means suggested and prepared for the forcible attainment of their objects; the nature of the objects themselves, which are not only the overthrow of all the political institutions of the kingdom, but also such a subversion of the rights and principles of property as must necessarily lead to general confusion, plunder, and bloodshed—without submitting to the most serious attention of the House the dangers which exist, and which the utmost vigilance of Government

under the existing laws has been found inadequate to prevent.'

There is no reason to doubt that the committee who framed these reports did so in all good faith, and that they really believed that the country was on the eve of a revolution. But with the exception of the Spa-Fields riot, they could not adduce a single fact to substantiate their allegations. Unaccompanied as their reports were by specific proof or convincing argument, they appeared to have been framed only for the purpose of disseminating alarms, and justifying the extreme measures which the Government intended to propose.

The first of the four bills which were brought in to guard against the dangers described in such exaggerated language, renewed the act 'for the better prevention and punishment of all attempts to seduce persons serving in the army and navy from their allegiance.' The second extended to the Prince Regent an act for the safety and preservation of His Majesty's person. The third was for the prevention of seditious meetings and assemblies. The last of the four was 'an act to empower His Majesty to secure and detain such persons as His Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and Government'—in plain terms, to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. But this suspension was to continue in force only till the ensuing 1st of July. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was strenuously opposed in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Wellesley and Earl Grey, who expressed their conviction that the threatened danger to the country had been greatly exaggerated, and that the ordinary laws were quite sufficient for the repression and punishment of any offences that had really taken place. Lord Grenville, however, separated himself from his party on this occasion and supported the Ministry, who carried the second reading of their bill by a majority of 115. The opposition to the measure in the Lower House was equally unsuccessful. All attempts even to mitigate the severity of the penalties

proposed under the act failed, and Sir James Mackintosh was unable to persuade the House to substitute transportation for seven years for 'death without benefit of clergy,' as the punishment for the refusal of persons attending a seditious meeting to disperse on being required to do so. Lord Castlereagh avowed that it was the object of the bill to prevent the existence of debating societies, lecture rooms, and reading rooms, and the Ministry even declined to exempt lectures in medicine, surgery, and chemistry from the operation of this gagging act.

Before these new coercion acts could be brought into operation, an event occurred which clearly proved that the existing powers at the disposal of the Government were amply sufficient to suppress any disturbances likely to arise at that time. A meeting was held in Manchester on the 3rd of March, to protest against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was adjourned till the following Monday, when about ten or twelve thousand operatives were said to have assembled; but Bamford, who is likely to have been accurately informed, rates them at not more than four or five thousand. 'Many of the individuals,' he says, 'were observed to have blankets, rugs, or large coats rolled up and tied knapsack-like on their backs; some carried bundles under their arms; some had papers supposed to be petitions rolled up; and some had stout walking-sticks.' It was agreed that ten out of every twenty persons who were present at the meeting should proceed to London on foot with a petition to the Prince Regent 'that they might undeceive him.' As they were each of them to be provided with a blanket, their march was termed the march of the 'Blanketeers.'

The intention of the leaders of this movement was no doubt to excite general alarm, but they had totally miscalculated their strength. The Riot Act was read by the magistrates, and the meeting was dispersed by the military and the constables. Four

of their leaders were arrested on the evening preceding the meeting, and some others were apprehended on the spot by the dragoons and conveyed to prison. About three hundred, however, commenced their march to the metropolis, but little more than half that number reached Macclesfield at nine o'clock at night; about forty of them having been arrested at Stockport by a troop of Life Guards, and conveyed back to Manchester. 'Nothing could be more wretched,' says an eye-witness, 'than the appearance of the few who reached this town [Macclesfield]; some actually fainting from weariness, and all of them without baggage or any apparent resource with which to proceed twenty miles from this towards London.' The next morning, with numbers still further diminished, they resumed their toilsome march. 'About a score arrived at Leck, and six only were known to pass Ashbourne Bridge.'

The complete collapse of the Blanketeers' march might have satisfied the Government that their apprehensions of danger were greatly exaggerated, and ought to have convinced the leaders of the mob of the futility of their efforts. But if we may give implicit credit to the statements of the Secret Committee of the Lords in their second report, 'a general insurrection was intended to have commenced at Manchester on the night of the 30th of March. The magistrates were to be seized, the prisoners were to be liberated, the soldiers were either to be surprised in their barracks, or a certain number of factories were to be set on fire for the purpose of drawing the soldiers out of their barracks, of which a party stationed near them for that object were to take possession, with a view of seizing the magazine. . . . This atrocious conspiracy,' it is added, 'was detected by the vigilance of the magistrates, and defeated by the apprehension and confinement of some of the ringleaders a few days before the period fixed for its execution.'

Bamford says that on the day after the

Blanket meeting he was waited on by 'a man dressed much like a dyer to propose, that in consequence of the treatment which the Blanketeers had received at the meeting and afterwards, a "Moscow of Manchester" should take place that very night.' Bamford evidently regarded the man either as a spy or the dupe of some designing villain, and told him that he would have nothing to do with his project. The notion of a march to London was still running in the heads of some of the leading plotters, however it may have got there; and a few delegates from a number of manufacturing towns proposed 'some general plan of simultaneous and connected insurrection to march upon London, to overturn the existing Government, and to establish a republic.' But on the 6th of June, three days before the alleged plan was to have been carried into effect, the ringleaders were arrested at Huddersfield, and nothing more was heard of their absurd plot.

The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act having put an end to public meetings, the safety-valve for the feelings of the distressed operatives was closed, and the danger from disaffection was greatly increased. The Government imagined that the existing bad feeling was owing mainly, if not exclusively, to the acts and inflammatory harangues of factious agitators. But 'demagogues,' as Lord Cockburn remarks, 'are almost always effects; very rarely causes. They are the froth that rises and bubbles on the surface when the mass of the people ferments; the sedition of opinion, moreover, was promoted by the sedition of the stomach. The country was in deep distress, and natural dearth was aggravated by the artificial arrangements of trade and manufactures, which operated like what miners call *troubles* on the transition from war to peace.'

Bamford, whose narrative bears throughout the stamp of candour and truth, frankly admits that 'open meetings thus being suspended, secret ones ensued; they were originated at Manchester, and assembled

under various pretexts. . . . Their real purpose, divulged only to the initiated, was to carry into effect the night attack on Manchester.' He also states in the same candid manner, that one of the delegates proposed to him a scheme for the assassination of the members of the Government. 'The fact was,' he says, 'this unfortunate person, in the confidence of an unsuspecting mind, as I believe, had during one of his visits to London formed a connection with Oliver the spy—which connection, during several succeeding months, gave a new impulse to secret meetings and plots in various parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; and ended in the tragedy of Brandreth, Ludlow, and Turner, at Dealy.'

The event referred to by Bamford is usually designated the 'Derbyshire insurrection.' Its leader was a framework knitter of the name of Jeremiah Brandreth, who, according to all accounts, seems to have been a remarkable man. Mr. Denman, who was counsel for the prisoners, after Brandreth had been convicted, described him as a person of 'great courage, of uncommon decision, and of unrelenting firmness, with a countenance formed for activity, enterprise, and command, that gave him that sort of instinctive influence which, in his humble station, there is no resisting.' He was very poor, and his family had been compelled by extreme poverty to accept parochial relief. He worked at the manufacture of ribbed hosiery, which was made in Derbyshire, and its discontinuance, owing to a change of fashion, had deprived him of his livelihood, rendering him utterly reckless, and maddened by imaginary oppression. 'I need not care whether I live or die,' he said in prison, 'for there are no Derbyshire ribs now.'

It appears that in March, 1817, a person of the name of Oliver agreed to accompany certain delegates from the London societies to the Midland districts. Before going on this mission, however, he made known his intention to Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, and had arranged to communicate

information to him respecting the designs of the disaffected in that quarter of the country. Sir John Byng, who commanded the forces in the disturbed districts, says, 'Oliver was sent to me with a letter from Lord Sidmouth to the purport that he, Oliver, was going down into that part of the country where meetings were being frequently held, and that he had been desired to communicate to me any information he might obtain as to the time and place of such meetings, in order that I might take timely measures to prevent their taking place; the wish and intention being to prevent, not to encourage them, as was alleged against the Government.' Persons of Oliver's character, however, are strongly tempted, in order to enhance the merit of their services to their employers, to originate and foster the plots which they were expected to prevent by timely disclosure; and there can be no doubt that this was the course adopted by Oliver on this occasion. He was introduced to the leaders of the disaffected operatives in the Midland districts, and remained among them for nearly six weeks, from the 17th of April to the 27th of May, and was everywhere cordially received by them as an accredited London delegate. He told the secret committee of their society that 'London was ready to rise, and only wished to know what assistance could be derived from the country; and that the people of London would not stir first, but would be ready to second any movement from the country.' Another delegate, who had been sent to London and returned in Oliver's company, confirmed his statements, and asserted that 75,000 persons could be relied on in the eastern parts of the capital, and an equal number in the western. On the 6th June Oliver was at Dewsbury, in Yorkshire, where he urged Mr. Willans, a bookseller, to attend a meeting of delegates at Thornhill-lees, in the vicinity of that town. But Willans, to whom the incendiary had some weeks before spoken in the most traitorous terms, suspected his honesty,

and refused to go. Oliver himself attended the meeting and was arrested, along with a number of the delegates present. But, in the evening of the same day, he was at large, and was seen at Wakefield in conversation with Sir John Byng's servant. He went on to Leeds, and next day, June 7th, was found at Nottingham, and after a conversation with Mr. Allsop, a gentleman who had been very active in that town in the preservation of the peace, he attended a meeting of delegates, at which an outbreak was organized. Oliver, of course, gave Mr. Allsop full information as to the proceedings; and if that information had been promptly acted on, the 'Derby insurrection' would have been crushed in the bud. Lord Sidmouth's biographer affirms that none of the Government spies were 'employed, in the first instance, by Lord Sidmouth, themselves sought him out,' and 'if they, in any instances, instigated the conspirators to crime in order to betray them, the treacherous act must have been entirely their own.' There is no reason to question the truth of this statement; at the same time there can be little doubt that, if the whole of the Derbyshire insurrection was not the work of the persons sent to that district by Government, as Sir Samuel Romilly asserted in the House of Commons, the insurrection would at least not have taken place without their agency. Even in the case of poor Brandreth there is good reason to believe that, in spite of his ability and influence, he was, as Mr. Denman affirmed, 'most clearly himself an instrument wielded by other hands.'

On the 8th of June, the day after the meeting at Nottingham, a number of disaffected operatives met at a village called Pentridge, in Derbyshire; and prominent among them was Brandreth, 'The Nottinghamshire Captain,' as he was called. He had a map in his hand, and talked wildly about the necessity of overthrowing the Government, before any good could be done. Others in the company spoke in the same strain, and declared that 'all the country

was to rise all at one time. They would first go and take Nottingham wholly to themselves; and when they got Nottingham, every man would have 100 guineas and plenty of rum.' The meeting lasted six or seven hours, and on dispersing they agreed to meet again next night after dark.

On the evening of the 9th Brandreth, on his way to the place of rendezvous, passed the door of a labouring man at South Wingfield, about five miles from Pentridge, and urged him to go with him, telling the man that 'the countries England, Ireland, and France were to rise that night at ten o'clock,' and that 'the northern clouds, men from the north, would come down and sweep all before them.' The labourer 'thought Brandreth must be mad or drunk to think of such things,' and refused to accompany him. The appointed place of meeting was an old barn at South Wingfield, where Brandreth found about twenty men assembled, armed with pikes and guns. He addressed them in some rugged but expressive doggerel—

'Every man his skill must try :  
He must turn out and not deny ;  
No bloody soldier must he dread,  
He must turn out and fight for bread.  
The time is come, you plainly see,  
The Government opposed must be.'

The band set out on their march, stopping at houses which contained arms, and taking possession of them by violence. At one farm-house, where resistance was offered, Brandreth fired in at the window and shot one of the servants dead. Numbers of men, who were unwilling to join the band, were dragged out of their beds and hiding places, and compelled to accompany them; the leader assuring them that 'it would not be necessary to go further than Nottingham, for London would be taken by the time they got there.' Even with these forced recruits, some of whom made their escape in the darkness, the numbers of the ignorant and infatuated insurgents at no time exceeded 150.

On the morning of the 10th they were met, on their march about six miles from

Nottingham, by Mr. Rolleston, a magistrate, who immediately returned to that town and procured from the barracks a troop of eighteen hussars, commanded by a captain and a subaltern. On hearing that the soldiers were marching towards them, the insurgents at once took to flight; but a number of them were made prisoners, and about forty guns and other arms fell into the hands of the military. A special commissioner was sent down to Derby, in the month of October, for the trial of the prisoners on a charge of high treason. No one can now doubt that they ought to have been indicted for murder; but the Government, either from panic, or, as the Opposition alleged, from a desire to increase the public anxiety and alarm, charged them with 'levying war against the sovereign.' The presiding judge told the jury that 'armed insurrection for the purpose of effecting a change of government amounted, in construction of law, to levying war against the king.' Brandreth and two of his associates, Ludlow and Turner, were found guilty of high treason and executed (November 7); eleven of the insurgents were transported for life, four for fourteen years, and five imprisoned for various terms.

The trial of the Spa-Fields rioters took place in June. The grand jury of Middlesex found true bills against the elder Watson, Thistlewood, and the other leaders, and Watson was first tried at the bar of the King's Bench for treason on the 16th of June. If he and his associates had been indicted for an aggravated riot, they would without doubt have been found guilty and punished as they deserved. But the jury refused to believe that a powerful government was to be overthrown and a great city, protected by a formidable array of police and soldiers, seized and plundered by a handful of poor and ignorant rioters. They accordingly acquitted Watson, and the Government came to the conclusion that it was hopeless to proceed against the other prisoners, and they were in con-

sequence discharged. If, as Sir Samuel Romilly remarks, the prisoners, instead of being committed to the Tower, tried at the bar of the King's Bench, and arraigned of high treason, had been committed to Newgate, tried at the Old Bailey, and indicted merely for an aggravated riot, they would without doubt have been convicted. The discredit which the unsuccessful issue of Watson's trial cast upon the Government was greatly aggravated by the fact, that the charges brought against the prisoner and his associates that they intended to fire the barracks and to seize the Tower, rested on the evidence of a rascally informer named Castle, who had twice been accused of uttering forged notes, and had escaped the extreme penalty of the law by turning king's evidence and assisting to bring his comrades to the gallows. The testimony of a scoundrel of this class was not likely to gain credence from an intelligent jury, while it did serious injury to the Government that had made use of his services.

The attempt to bring the Yorkshire rioters to justice was not more successful, though certainly not from any 'want of zeal or deficiency of means on the part of the Government.' But the previous mistake was committed a second time, and the persons who were arrested at Huddersfield were brought to trial on a charge, not of riot, of which they had undoubtedly been guilty, but of high treason. Every effort was put forth to insure their conviction. It is stated in the 'Annual Register,' as showing the determination of the Government to obtain a conviction, if possible, that 'some time before the trial came on, the Solicitor for the Crown was sent down into the neighbourhood of Huddersfield to collect evidence against the prisoners. In support of the evidence, a large portion of the weight and talent of the bar on the northern circuit was ranged on the side of the prosecution; and that nothing might be wanting to give importance to these proceedings, Mr. Gurney was sent down from London, at the expense of

the Government, to take reports of the trials. Against all this weight of power and influence, seconded by the public purse, a few obscure men and boys, principally in the very lowest ranks in society, had to defend themselves. The odds were terrific; but with the zeal and intelligence of their professional advisers and advocates, and the presiding presence of a righteous Judge who knows no distinction between the lofty and the humble in the administration of justice, the trial by jury obtained another distinguished triumph, and the prisoners, after a period of deep anxiety, were restored to their liberty and to their friends.' Of the twenty-four prisoners against whom the Government Solicitor was instructed to institute prosecutions, no bills were found against eleven. Ten were pronounced not guilty, one was liberated on bail, and the remaining two were detained in prison without bail by a Secretary of State's warrant, under the authority of the Act suspending the Habeas Corpus.

The failure of the Government to secure the conviction of the persons whom they had apprehended, and the opinion thus expressed respecting their arbitrary proceedings, did not induce them to pause in their repressive policy. The Habeas Corpus Act had, in the first instance, been suspended only till the close of the session; but it was now resolved to continue its suspension for a much longer period. Accordingly, in the beginning of June, another message was sent by the Prince Regent to the two Houses of Parliament, communicating new information respecting the state of the country. The secret committees were re-appointed to consider this information. They both agreed that the papers submitted to them afforded 'but too many proofs of the continued existence of a traitorous conspiracy for the overthrow of our established Government and constitution, and for the subversion of the existing order of society,' and both of them expressed 'their conviction that it is not yet safe to rely entirely for the preservation of public

tranquillity upon the ordinary powers of the law.' Strenuous efforts were made by the Opposition to prevent the continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, but without effect. The 'Derby Insurrection' and the other abortive risings in the manufacturing districts had caused such general alarm throughout the country, that the Government carried by large majorities their bill for the suspension of the Act till the 1st of March, 1818. During the years that have elapsed since this step was taken, successive governments have had to deal with disturbances incomparably more dangerous than those which excited such alarm in 1817; but the Habeas Corpus Act has never again been suspended in Great Britain.

When the bill for the further suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was under consideration, Lord Folkestone moved in the committee to expunge the clause which extended the bill to Scotland. The motion was supported by Sir Samuel Romilly, who contended that the last report of the secret committee, which afforded the only grounds for the proposal of the present measure, did not take the least notice of Scotland; and as it had been admitted by the ministers that it had not been found necessary in a single instance to exercise in Scotland the authority given them by the Act which was about to expire, there could be no reason for continuing it in that part of the kingdom. No answer was given to these observations, but Lord Folkestone's motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-one.

Scotland, like England, was suffering severely from agricultural and manufacturing distress, but there had been no disturbances or riots among the people to justify the adoption of coercive measures. A small but intelligent class, however, were advocating parliamentary reform, and it suited the purpose of the alarmists to accuse these reformers as engaged in a conspiracy for overthrowing the Government and the constitution of the country. In order to obtain evidence in support of this assertion,

spies were employed by the authorities to mingle with the reformers, to take part in their proceedings, and then betray them to the Government. As might have been expected, the persons who undertook this infamous task were not slow to invent where they could not find, and to exaggerate where they thought they discerned illegal and seditious designs. It appears that Lord Sidmouth, who seems to have fancied that he was living in an atmosphere of plots, had informed Mr. Finlay, the member for the Glasgow district of burghs, that the city which he represented was one of the places in which conspiracies against the Government existed to a very great extent; and that it was therefore specially necessary that he should do all in his power to obtain accurate information respecting the traitorous designs of the disaffected persons among his constituents. Mr. Finlay employed a man named Alexander Richmond, who possessed great influence among the operatives, to find out the treasonable plots alleged to have been hatched by the reformers. In a short space of time the spy brought to his employer a copy of the following oath, which he affirmed had been taken by certain persons in the city whose names were attached to it:—

'I do voluntarily swear that I will persevere in my endeavours to form a brotherhood of affection among Britons of every description who are considered worthy of confidence; and that I will persevere in my endeavours to obtain for all the people in Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crime or insanity, the elective franchise at the age of twenty-one, with free and equal representation, and annual parliaments; and that I will support the same to the utmost of my power, either by moral or physical strength, as the case may require; and I do further swear that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments shall induce me to inform on or give evidence against any member or members collectively or individually for any act or expression



done or made, in or out, in this or similar societies, under punishment of death, to be inflicted on me by any member or members of such societies.'

It was afterwards proved by most conclusive evidence before the supreme court that this oath was invented by Richmond himself, and that he had induced two or three poor weavers to append their signatures to it, under the pretence that it was merely a declaration in favour of a reform of Parliament. A copy of the alarming document was at once forwarded to Lord Sidmouth, who immediately summoned a cabinet council for its consideration. It was some time after laid by him before Parliament, to show that the recent suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was imperatively required by the state of the country.

Doubts having been expressed by some members of the Opposition respecting the genuineness of the oath, the Lord Advocate Maconochie rashly and imprudently pledged himself to prove its authenticity by obtaining a conviction against the alleged conspirators. He accordingly hastened down to Scotland, and caused several 'suspected' persons in Glasgow to be apprehended on warrants charging them with high treason. The prisoners, instead of being committed to the jail of that city, were conveyed in vans to the castle of Edinburgh, under the plea that they could not be kept in safe custody anywhere else. It was the object of the Ministry at this time, as Sir Samuel Romilly remarks, to give an extraordinary degree of importance to every appearance of disaffection or tumult which manifested itself in any part of the kingdom. The mode of procedure which had been adopted in regard to the Spa-Fields rioters was, in spite of its ignominious failure, to a certain extent, followed in dealing with the Glasgow weavers. There never was any real intention, however, of trying them for high treason; and hence, though this charge was always kept up in the warrant, it was never introduced

into any of the indictments. The conduct of the Government in adopting this mode of procedure was severely condemned, and very feebly defended, in the House of Commons. The Lord Advocate, when put upon his defence, was compelled to admit that he had caused the prisoners at first, and after each successive indictment, to be committed on a charge of treason, though they were only indicted for felony, and had thus been subjected to much closer and more rigorous confinement than would have been allotted them if they had been only charged with felony. But he had the hardihood to assert that 'the committing them at the same time on the two charges of treason and felony had been done for their benefit and protection, and to prevent the possibility of their being detained as long as the prosecutor might have detained them without bringing them to trial, if the commitments had followed each other instead of being contemporaneous.' 'The sum' of this plea, as Sir Samuel Romilly remarked, 'was that the Lord Advocate had protected the prisoners against the abuse of power by *himself*. But surely he might have trusted himself not to have recourse against the prisoners to dilatory proceedings for the mere purpose of oppression and vexation. If it was *not intended* to try them for treason, why were they three times committed on such a charge? And if they *were* to be tried for treason, why were the indictments first preferred against them for felony?'

The most eminent counsel then at the Scottish bar, for learning, talents, and reputation, gave their services to defend the prisoners; and the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General, who appeared for the Crown, were so overmatched in the struggle that the member for Glasgow, who was a steady supporter of the Government, made a direct charge, in the House of Commons, of incapacity against the Crown counsel. No less than three months were spent in altering and mending the indictments; but at last the public prosecutor succeeded in

bringing one prisoner, Andrew McKinlay, to trial on the facts.

McKinlay was a poor man, a weaver belonging to the Calton of Glasgow. He was apprehended on the 28th of February, and was kept a close prisoner in irons till the 22nd of July, 1817. He was placed at the bar of the High Court of Justiciary on four successive occasions; but on three of them the objections of his counsel to the relevancy of the indictment were sustained by the court. At length, on his fourth appearance at the bar, the majority of the judges, in legal phraseology, 'sustained the libel as relevant to infer the pains of law.'

The trial had scarcely begun, however, when an incident occurred which produced a great sensation first in the court, and ultimately in the country, and no doubt contributed not a little to the result. The principal witness adduced by the public prosecutor was a Glasgow weaver, named John Campbell, who had been for months closely confined in the castle of Edinburgh, and all access to him by the prisoner's counsel peremptorily denied. It turned out, however, that he had been frequently visited by the Crown lawyers, who, he alleged, had tampered with him, and had held out strong inducements to lead him to give such evidence as would serve their purpose. On being placed in the witness-box and asked the initial question put to every witness in criminal trials, whether he had received or been promised any reward for giving evidence in this trial, he replied in the affirmative. On being asked by whom, he answered 'By that gentleman,' pointing to the Advocate-depute. The scene that ensued was one of the most striking ever witnessed in a court of justice. The audience, filled with amazement, listened in breathless silence, while 'the judges frowned on the man as if they would have eaten him on the spot.' Unmoved by their evident displeasure, Campbell proceeded to tell clearly and distinctly how the Advocate-depute, in the presence of the Sheriff of Edinburgh, had promised him a good per-

manent Government office abroad after he had given his evidence for the Crown in McKinlay's trial. 'No witness,' says Lord Cockburn, who was one of the prisoner's counsel, 'ever gave his evidence in a manner more entitled to credit: calm, clear, and unexaggerating, he went into all the details with precision and apparent probability; and I am not aware that there ever was a surmise against his general character.'

The court decided that Campbell's evidence could not be received, and the Crown counsel had to rely on other witnesses whom they had cited to prove their case. The public prosecutor succeeded in proving that illegal oaths had been administered; and McKinlay admitted that he had attached his signature to a paper which was found to contain the oath that was laid before Parliament, but which he was assured by Richmond, the spy, contained nothing but a declaration in favour of reform. With regard, however, to the particular charge on which he was tried, the witnesses brought forward by the prosecutor could not testify as to the precise terms of the oath alleged to have been administered, and could not say whether they were giving the words of the oath to which they had been privy or the one quoted in the House of Commons, which they admitted they had read in the newspapers. The Crown counsel on this gave up the case, and McKinlay and the other prisoners in the castle were immediately set at liberty.

Richmond states, in a narrative which he subsequently published in his own vindication, that the statement of Campbell fell upon the Crown lawyers 'like a bomb-shell;' and that when he waited on some of them in their chambers the following day, 'they appeared like chagrin and mortification personified.' He goes on to say—'I had frequent opportunities of unreservedly hearing the sentiments of the Crown lawyers during the progress of the trial. Had they in the first instance succeeded in establishing the administration of the oath, two or three would have been sentenced to capital

punishment, and a number more to transportation; and I have no hesitation in saying that their sentence would have been carried into execution.' 'Thus terminated,' he adds, 'the case in Scotland upon which the ministry depended for a justification of their proceedings.'

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest in this position. On the 10th of February, 1818, Lord Archibald Hamilton moved, in the House of Commons, for the production of the record of Andrew M'Kinlay before the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, for the purpose of bringing under the view of the House 'the conduct of the law officers of the Crown in grossly tampering with a witness produced for the Crown, and whose evidence was on that ground rejected by the court.' The motion was strenuously opposed by the Government—very unwisely and improperly if they believed that the Crown officers were innocent of the charge brought against them—and was of course rejected by a large majority.

Sir Samuel Romilly, who seconded Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion, says, 'Being fully convinced that the late suspension of the Habeas Corpus was a most unnecessary and mischievous measure, and that it will be a most dangerous precedent, I took the first opportunity of the House of Commons meeting to call the attention of the House to what had passed during the recess; to

the acquittal of the prisoners who had been apprehended at Manchester without Government even offering any evidence against them; to the trial of M'Kinlay in Scotland, who was also acquitted; to the nature of the case proved in evidence upon the trials at Derby, and to the three late extraordinary trials of Hone—to show how little foundation there was for the exaggerated statements which had formerly been made, and how ill the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was adapted as a remedy for the evils which really did exist.'

On the 28th of January Lord Sidmouth introduced into the House of Lords a bill for the repeal of the Suspension Act. It was read three times on the same day, and next day was brought down to the Commons and there read three times and passed without discussion. Romilly, however, called attention to the important fact, that there had been no interruption of the *public tranquillity since the month of June last*—a remarkable period; for it was in that month of June that the conduct of Government in employing spies and informers had been exposed and condemned in the House of Commons. From that time Government had ceased to employ such instruments; and from the time when they ceased to be employed all signs of disaffection which had manifested themselves in different parts of the country had ceased.

## CHAPTER VI.

Crusade against the Press—Lord Sidmouth's Circular—William Cobbett—The Three Trials of Hone—Lord Chief-Justice Ellenborough.

THE domestic policy of the Government had, since the peace, been not only unsuccessful, but discreditable. They had persisted in regarding riotous outrages as acts of high treason; and by thus overshooting the mark, they allowed the rioters to escape the punishment which their conduct deserved. By their employment of spies to discover the designs of the disaffected operatives, they had laid themselves open to the charge of having originated, or at least aggravated, the dangers which they sought to remove. And, now, taking no warning from the ignominious failure of their efforts to suppress and punish seditious practices, they entered upon a crusade against the Press, which they represented as the fomentor of treason, and the worst enemy both of the constitution and of religion. There were no doubt at this period a number of profane, scurrilous, and ribald publications circulated among the lower orders, which were fitted to excite the disgust of all well-principled persons. Referring to these libellous and scandalous journals, Wilberforce said, 'Seriously, the newspapers are among the very greatest, if not the greatest, evils of the country.' Again he says a little later, 'I got the nineteen Sunday newspapers, once for all, the other day; and assuredly such a collection of ribaldry and profaneness never before disgraced my library, and I trust never will again.'

Southey, though he had himself once been a journalist, gave it as his deliberate advice to the prime minister in 1817, 'You must curb the press, or it will destroy the constitution of the country.' 'No means,' he added, 'can be effectual for checking the

intolerable license of the press, but that of making transportation the punishment of its abuse.' Public opinion among the upper and professional classes of the community ran strongly in the same direction. Even the most respectable contributors to the Press were regarded as disreputable persons, unfit to mingle in good society. Abbot, afterwards Speaker, described reporters as 'blackguard newswriters;' and the benchers of Lincoln's Inn made a by-law excluding all writers in the newspapers from being called to the bar. The Government, thus supported by the opinion of the governing class, had no difficulty in obtaining the consent of Parliament to enactments of the most stringent character against political writers, and especially against the contributors to the public journals; and they enforced these laws with merciless severity.

Experience, however, has shown that the prosecution by the Government of the authors or printers of publications of even the class described by Wilberforce, unless in rare and exceptional cases, is a mistake, and serves only to give greater publicity and a much more extensive circulation to writings which would otherwise have perished in obscurity. The Government, however, took quite a different view of the case. They considered it right and expedient to suppress any publication which in their opinion was hostile to the church and the constitution; and there can be no doubt that their mistaken policy contributed not a little to the extension of the evil which it was their professed object to destroy.

To add to the unpopularity of these proceedings, there was a general impression that the Government were inclined to treat

with much greater severity the writers who attacked their own characters and conduct than the authors of profane and blasphemous publications. Sir Vicary Gibbs, who was Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas at this time—an able lawyer, but a harsh, irritable, conceited, and most unpleasant person—when he held the office of Attorney-General in 1812 was said to have filed more ex-officio informations than any two of his predecessors. ‘He filed his informations by the score,’ said Lord Brougham; ‘he had every newspaper not devoted to the Treasury under prosecution at once; and though he did not bring many of his cases to trial, he harassed his victims by anxiety and delay; he exhausted them by costs.’ Some of his ex-officio informations, indeed, were never brought to trial at all, but were kept suspended over the heads of the unfortunate defendants. ‘There were in his time,’ says his biographer, ‘no less than fifty-two newspapers published in London, half of which are said to have been at one and the same period under prosecution. He hung them all on the horns of a dilemma. If the editor apologized for a libel, his apology came too late; for the Attorney-General would not allow him “first to calumniate a man, and then to nauseate him with flattery.” If, on the other hand, the unhappy author made no apology, he obviously deserved punishment as a hardened offender.’ ‘Partly,’ says Lord Brougham, ‘by his excessive use of the power of filing informations, partly by his failure in the exercise of it, he had the agony, to him most excruciating, of being signally defeated in his attempts to crush the Press, and of causing all the discussions of the ex-officio power, which first brought it into hatred, and then into disuse.’

Lord Ellenborough, who was at this time Chief-Justice of the King’s Bench, was undoubtedly an able and accomplished lawyer, but he was even more fiercely hostile to the liberty of the press than his brother judge. He took a deep interest in political affairs, and at one time, indeed, held a seat in the

Cabinet. He was a frequent speaker in the House of Lords, where his voice was invariably raised in defence of the sanguinary criminal code which, at that time, disgraced the legislation of our country. It was his constant habit to inform the jury that a particular publication was libellous, instead of leaving them, as he ought to have done, to decide whether it was a libel or not. His grossly partial conduct on the trial of Lord Cochrane, the great sea-captain, brought upon him universal and well-merited odium; and the mortification which he felt at his failure to induce two successive juries to return a verdict against William Hone, the bookseller, made him resign his office of Chief-Justice of England.

The crusade of the Government against the liberty of the press began in 1817. On moving the second reading of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill in February of that year, Lord Sidmouth said—‘Some noble lords had complained that prosecutions had not been instituted against the authors, printers, or publishers of infamous libels; but it was but justice to the Government to state that they had not neglected their duty with regard to these publications. As soon as they reached the hands of ministers, they were transmitted to the law officers of the Crown, who felt that these publications were drawn up with so much dexterity—the authors had so profited by former lessons of experience—that greater difficulties to conviction presented themselves than at any former time.’

Unfortunately, both for the credit of the Government and the tranquillity of the country, Lord Sidmouth did not rest satisfied with this cautious mode of procedure; but on the 27th of March he issued his noted circular to the lords-lieutenant of counties, recommending the magistrates to adopt measures questionable in law and most unwise in policy. The letter is in these words—

‘As it is of the greatest importance to prevent, as far as possible, the circulation of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and writings, of which,

for a considerable time past, great numbers have been sold and distributed throughout the country, I have thought it my duty to consult the law servants of the Crown whether an individual found selling, or in any way publishing such pamphlets or writings, might be brought immediately before a justice of the peace, under a warrant issued for the purpose, to answer for his conduct. The law officers having accordingly taken this matter into their consideration, have notified to me their opinion that a justice of the peace may issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him upon oath with the publication of libels of the nature in question, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge. Under these circumstances, I beg leave to call your lordship's attention very particularly to this subject; and I have to request that if your lordship should not propose to attend in person at the next general quarter sessions of the peace, to be held in and for the county under your lordship's charge, you would make known to the chairman of such sessions the substance of this communication, in order that he may recommend to the several magistrates to act thereupon, *in all cases* where any person shall be found offending against the law in the manner above mentioned. I beg leave to add that persons vending pamphlets or other publications in the manner alluded to, should be considered as coming under the provisions of the Hawkers and Pedlars Act, and be dealt with accordingly, unless they show that they are furnished with a licence, as required by the said Act.

'I have the honour to be, &c.,

'SIDMOUTH.'

No person of any political party will now dispute that the issuing of this document was a most unconstitutional proceeding, and a daring violation of public liberty. It was brought before the House of Lords by Earl Grey on the 12th of May, who in a remarkably luminous and most convincing speech pointed out the impropriety of a Secretary of State taking upon himself to interpret and enjoin the execution of the law. 'In all the varieties of writing,' he said, 'which may constitute the offence of libel, what is more difficult to be decided than the question of their guilt or innocence? what more exposed to the influence of undue motives in its decision? It has been formerly stated by some of the most eminent persons in the profession of the law, nay, by almost all of them, to be so nice and

difficult a question, that it could not be safely left even to a special jury; that they were only to find the fact of publication, and that the criminality of the writing as a question of law was exclusively for the decision of the court. This, my lords, was long contended for, and long acted upon as law till, happily for the freedom of the press and for the liberty of the country, of which the press is the great palladium, by the perseverance of my noble and learned friend [Lord Erskine], and by the exertions of the man whom in public life I most loved and admired [Mr. Fox], that principle was at length exploded, and by the Libel Bill it was at last established that in prosecutions for libel both the law and the fact were within the province of the jury, and to be determined by them. But, my lords, what avails this just and beneficent statute? what security is there either for the freedom of the press or the liberty of the subject if, whilst you have imposed this salutary restraint upon the judges in trials for libel, you give to them and to justices of the peace, before trial, a right to decide that difficult question, and to commit to prison—in many instances, perhaps, to inflict a severer punishment than the court upon conviction would adjudge—upon a charge which, after all, may turn out to have had no foundation but in the false interpretation of words perfectly innocent by the justice before whom the charge was brought? . . . If such be the power of the magistrate, and if this be the law, where, I ask, are all the boasted securities of our independence and freedom?'

A feeble attempt was made by Lords Ellenborough and Sidmouth to refute Earl Grey's cogent reasonings, and he was fully warranted to say in his reply that all that fell from these noble lords rather strengthened than weakened his own opinions. He had never in his life heard anything more jejune and unsatisfactory than their arguments. He called for law, and they gave him authority; he called for deliberate discussion, and they had given him bare

assertions. The Home Secretary, indeed, made no attempt to support by argument the course he had adopted; but he took great credit to himself for his 'endeavour to stop the progress of blasphemy and sedition.' So elated was he with this view of his policy that four months after this, writing to the bishop of Durham, he says, 'The attempt to check the progress of treason and blasphemy by apprising the magistrates that they had the power of apprehending and holding to bail the publishers and vendors of either, was one of the charges brought against me in the course of the last session. Such a charge it shall be my constant endeavour to deserve; and I am happy in being able to assure your lordship that the activity of the itinerant dealers in these articles is materially controlled and their number greatly diminished.'

The conduct of the Home Secretary was brought under the notice of the House of Commons also by Sir Samuel Romilly, who moved two resolutions on the subject—'That it is highly prejudicial to the due administration of justice for a minister of the Crown to interfere with the magistrates of the country in cases in which a discretion is supposed to be by law vested in them, by recommending or suggesting to them how that discretion should be exercised. Secondly, that it tends to the subversion of justice, and is a dangerous extension of the prerogative, for a minister of the Crown to take upon himself to declare in his official character to the magistracy what he conceives to be the law of the land; and such an exercise of authority is the more alarming, when the law so declared deeply affects the security of the subject and the liberty of the press, and is promulgated on no better authority than the opinions of the law officers of the Crown.'

In supporting these resolutions Sir Samuel said, 'By the constitution of this country there are only two modes in which the law, in matters of doubt, can be declared: one is by the whole legislature, by a declaratory

statute; the other, by the decisions of the judges upon points which have come judicially before them. It has been at all times thought of the utmost importance to prevent the law from being in any other way declared, and particularly to guard against the Crown presuming to declare it. . . . The circular resting on the opinion of the law officers had declared the law of the land on a point that was before doubtful; and the Secretary of State, assisted by such advice as he could command, had thus assumed the functions of legislation.' No attempt was made to refute the arguments of this great lawyer; but the Government got rid of the resolutions by moving the previous question, which was carried by a majority of 108.

The most formidable by far of all the anti-ministerial writers at this time was William Cobbett. He was the son of a small farmer in Surrey, and began life in 1783 as an attorney's clerk. His dislike to the drudgery of the office made him enlist in the 54th Foot, in which he served seven years in America, and attained the rank of serjeant-major. On claiming his discharge, he received the public thanks of the general officer commanding his division for his services. He proceeded to England, where he married the daughter of a serjeant, to whom he had been long engaged. He then returned to America and settled in Philadelphia, where he maintained himself by teaching English and conducting a periodical, styled *Peter Porcupine*, in which he attacked with great keenness American institutions and policy, and especially the anti-federal party, who were hostile to England. He was fined 5000 dollars for a libel, which so roused his indignation that he quitted the country and returned to England in the year 1800. After his return he started a new *Porcupine*, which was soon superseded by the more celebrated *Weekly Political Register*. At the outset he was a staunch supporter of the Tory party; but he quarrelled with the Government and became a fierce assailant of their measures.

He was repeatedly prosecuted for libel, and on one occasion was sentenced to a fine of £2000 and imprisonment for two years, on account of the strictures which he made on the flogging of some English soldiers by a party of Germans in the British service. In 1816 he reduced to twopence the price of his *Weekly Register*, which had hitherto been sold at a shilling and a halfpenny for each number. The effect of this reduction of price was to obtain for the *Register* an unprecedented circulation, and an influence, especially with the working-classes, which no periodical had ever before possessed.

Cobbett's opinions on all political and social questions were read by all classes and cordially adopted, both by the agricultural and the manufacturing workmen. In the words of Coleridge, 'Cobbett lifted the latch of every cottage door, and thundered with no runaway knock at the palace gate.' His shrewdness and common sense made his advice of infinite service to the agricultural population, whom he succeeded in convincing that their sufferings were not owing to the introduction of thrashing machines, and that riots and violent outrages injured rather than benefited their cause. But though he did this good service to the cause of order and obedience to the laws, the Government saw clearly that Cobbett's writings were converting the great mass of labourers and mechanics into active politicians. Their supporters denounced him as a 'fire-brand' and a 'convicted incendiary,' and loudly demanded to know why it was that he and 'others of the same stamp were permitted week after week to sow the seeds of rebellion, insulting the Government, and defying the laws of the country.' But though Cobbett advocated parliamentary reform, and vehemently assailed pensions, and sinecures, and other public abuses, he took care not to infringe the laws or to expose himself to a prosecution for libel. At this period he wrote nothing, as Lord Sidmouth was compelled reluctantly to admit, that 'the law officers could prosecute with any chance of success.'

He made spirit-stirring appeals, indeed, to the feelings, and the interests, and the prejudices of the working classes, and he exhorted them to hold meetings and to petition for reform; but he emphatically warned them against the employment of force or of any other illegal means to gain their rights.

The suspension of the Habeas Corpus, however, would have placed him at the mercy of the Government; and no doubt not a few of their supporters expected with Southey, that 'the first measure after the suspension would have been to place the chief incendiary writer in safe custody.' Cobbett himself seems to have entertained a similar expectation. He was quite aware that he had afforded no legal ground for prosecution, and that the Ministry were afraid to undertake proceedings against him. But he was also aware that by the warrant of a Secretary of State he might be imprisoned as a 'suspected' person under the Suspension Act, and kept in confinement until that Act should be repealed. Having a vivid remembrance of what he had suffered during his two years' imprisonment, he had no inclination to undergo it a second time. He therefore resolved to withdraw from the country, and to take refuge in America. He suspended the publication of his *Register* for four months, and in his farewell paper he thus states his reasons for this step—

'Lord Sidmouth was "sorry to say" that I had not written anything that the law officers could prosecute with any chance of success. I do not remove for the purpose of writing libels, but for the purpose of being able to write what is not libellous. I do not retire from the combat with the Attorney-General, but from a combat with a dungeon, deprived of pen, ink, and paper. A combat with the Attorney-General is quite unequal enough. That, however, I would have encountered. I know too well what a trial by special jury is. Yet that or any sort of trial I would have stayed to face. So that I could be sure of a trial of



whatever sort, I would have run the risk. But against the absolute power of imprisonment, without even a hearing, for time unlimited, in any jail in the kingdom, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, and without any communication with any soul but the keepers—against such a power it would have been worse than madness to attempt to strive.’

The ‘boar of the forest’ having thus escaped their toils, the Ministry attempted to revenge themselves on less formidable opponents. There was a paltiy and little known periodical called the *Black Dwarf*, in which an article was published on the 2nd of April, 1817, assailing in scurrilous terms the members of the Cabinet, and especially Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. It affirmed that the Ministry ‘talked of patriotism when they meant plunder, and that their object in embarking in a war with France was, not to conquer that country, but ourselves.’ The obscurity of the paper, as well as the absurdity of its statements, made its accusations quite harmless. But the Ministry had the folly to prosecute, in the month of June, the printer and publisher of the periodical—a person named Wooler—and thus elevated him to the position of a political martyr, and multiplied a thousand-fold the number of readers of the libel. Wooler conducted his own defence, and ‘it cannot be denied,’ says a contemporary chronicler, ‘that the spirit of it obtained the applause of a great part of the audience, which the sheriff found it difficult to repress.’ Mr. Justice Abbott admitted that every subject of the kingdom had a right to discuss the measures of Government, provided it were done reasonably, fairly, and impartially; but he affirmed that various statements made in the article were not correct, and expressed his opinion very decidedly that the article in question was libellous. The foreman of the jury, after a consultation of two hours and a half, declared that they found the defendant guilty. But before the judge could act upon the verdict, it transpired that three of the jury-

men had not concurred in the verdict, and it had of course to be set aside, so that the Government were both defeated and ridiculed. ‘The pannelling of wits,’ says an old writer, ‘enhances their authority; and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.’

The Ministry, however, refused to profit by the lessons of experience; and though the country was now quiet, and the disturbances, excited mainly by poverty and distress, had to a great extent subsided, they unhappily persisted in following the impolitic course on which they had entered. On the 18th of December they brought to trial an obscure bookseller and publisher, named William Hone, on the charge of ‘printing and publishing a seditious and profane libel on the Catechism, the Apostles’ Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer.’ Hone was a somewhat remarkable man, though his life had hitherto been a succession of failures. He was bred in the office of a London attorney. In his twenty-first year he opened a bookseller’s shop with a circulating library attached. Schemes of philanthropy and social reform—such as an abortive attempt to establish a Savings-bank in Blackfriar’s Road, and to correct the flagrant abuses then existing in lunatic asylums; the publication in 1806 of an edition of Shaw’s ‘Gardener;’ and the compilation of the index to the new edition of Berner’s translation of ‘Froissart’—had occupied his attention to the injury of his business, in which he had not been successful. He was indeed constitutionally unfitted for the battle of life. It was probably more the hope of earning a subsistence for his numerous family than any strong political feeling, that induced him in 1817 to publish a succession of squibs and parodies, illustrated with great force and spirit by George Cruickshank, then a young and unknown artist. Hone was familiar with a curious and obscure branch of literature, as he showed upon his trial—‘a gentle and inoffensive hunter after

all such reading as was never read ;' and he subsequently published a series of interesting and valuable works, such as 'The Apocryphal New Testament; being all the Gospels, Epistles, &c., attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their companions;' 'Ancient Mysteries Described; especially the English Miracle Plays, founded on the Apocryphal New Testament story, extant among the unpublished MSS. in the British Museum;' and above all, his delightful series of volumes, entitled the 'Every-day Book,' the 'Table Book,' and the 'Year Book,' full of curious and interesting facts elucidative of old customs, manners, and events. Though it was not until a subsequent period that Hone came under religious impressions and became sub-editor of a Nonconformist religious journal, there is no reason to doubt the truth of his statement, that nothing was further from his intention than to ridicule sacred things in his parodies, and he was deeply wounded by the reproach of blasphemy brought against these productions. But no one can doubt, what Hone himself in after years was ready frankly to admit, that they were highly offensive and profane. The ill-advised proceedings of the Government, however, after Hone had withdrawn his parodies from circulation, gave them a publicity which they would never otherwise have attained.

Hone's three trials attracted extraordinary attention at the time, and they form an important epoch in our constitutional history. They taught the Government of that day a lesson which was greatly needed; and they contributed not a little to the vast improvement which has been effected, since Hone's day, in the law of libel.

The first of the three trials took place at Guildhall on the 18th of December, 1817, before Mr. Justice Abbott (afterwards Lord Tenterden), and a special jury. The indictment charged Hone with printing and publishing an impious and profane libel upon the 'Catechism,' the 'Lord's Prayer,' and the 'Ten Commandments;' and 'thereby

bringing into contempt the Christian religion' The Attorney-General, Sir Samuel Shepherd, stated the case temperately against the defendant. He quoted the well-known saying of Sir Matthew Hale, that 'the Christian religion is parcel of the common law of England,' and contended that 'the service of the Church of England is also part of the statute law of England,' and that the person who 'attempts to parody the service of the Church of England is therefore by the law of the land guilty of a libel.' 'It may be said,' he argued, 'that the defendant's object was not to produce this effect. I believe that he meant the parody, in one sense, as a political squib; but his responsibility is not the less.' The Attorney-General then proceeded to read passages from the parodies of the Catechism, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which excited loud laughter in the court. The judge rebuked this display of feeling, and the Attorney-General said he regarded it as the fullest proof of the baneful effect the publication had produced. He candidly stated, however, that it was the province of the jury to decide whether the parody was a libel or no.

When the case for the prosecution was closed the defendant, in a modest faltering manner, mentioned that he was too poor to employ counsel, and that his inability to obtain copies of the informations against him had placed him at a great disadvantage. He complained of the inhuman treatment which he had received from the officers when they arrested him six months ago, and especially from Lord Ellenborough, before whom he was carried to plead. The recital of his wrongs seemed to have given him courage, and he continued his defence with a degree of energy and spirit which astonished his audience, and riveted their attention. He told the jury that 'they were not to inquire whether he was a member of the Established Church or a Dissenter; it was enough that he professed himself to be a Christian; and he would be bold to say that he made that profession with a rever-

ence for the doctrines of Christianity which could not be exceeded by any person in that court. He had his books about him, and it was from them that he must draw his defence. They had been the solace of his life. He was too much attached to his books to part with them. As to parodies, they were as old at least as the invention of printing; and he never heard of a prosecution for a parody, either religious or any other. There are two kinds of parodies; one in which a man might convey ludicrous or ridiculous ideas relative to some other subject; the other, where it was intended to ridicule the thing parodied. This latter was not the case here, and therefore he had not brought religion into contempt.'

In a speech which lasted six hours Hone proceeded to illustrate this argument. He quoted the celebrated 'Chaldee Manuscript,' published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, author and publisher both being Tories and Churchmen. Martin Luther had parodied the first verse of the first psalm. Bishop Latimer had written a parody of a passage of Scripture. So had Dr. Boys, dean of Canterbury, of a portion of the Prayer-book, and of the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. The Rev. Mr. Croxal; Mr. John Reeves, chairman of the Constitutional Association; the author of the 'Rolliad,' the editor of the 'Oracle,' a Government paper; the author of a mock 'Te Deum,' vituperating Bonaparte; and finally Mr. Canning, a Cabinet minister, in the *Anti-Jacobin*—an example which he was led to adduce by the reference which Earl Grey had made to it in the House of Lords—all had written parodies of the Bible. He contended that, as none of these parodists had intended to ridicule the Scriptures, neither had he any such intention. And as soon as he found that his parodies had been regarded as profane, he had withdrawn them from sale, and that he had done long before the Government had taken proceedings against him. It was in vain that both the presiding judge and the Attorney-General

interrupted him again and again, and urged that the parodies which he quoted were profane libels, and that one instance of profaneness cannot excuse another. Certainly not, replied the undaunted defendant; but if this mode of writing has been practised by dignitaries of the Church, and by men high in the State, he humbly conceived that this circumstance might be some excuse for his having been the publisher of the parody now charged as libellous. The gentle and kind-hearted judge expressed a wish that the defendant should not read any more of what only shocked well-disposed and pious persons. 'My Lord,' rejoined Hone, 'your Lordship's observation is in the very spirit of what Pope Leo X. said to Martin Luther, "For God's sake don't say a word more about the indulgences and the monasteries and I will give you a living," thus precluding him from mentioning the very thing in dispute. 'I must go on with these parodies,' he continued, 'or I cannot go on with my defence.' The judge said the writings he had read were illegal. He denied it. No proof had been adduced in support of this assertion. Not one of these productions had been condemned, or even prosecuted. Mr. Justice Abbott, in charging the jury, told them that 'the production was highly scandalous and irreligious, and therefore libellous; but if the jury were of a different opinion their verdict would be an acquittal.' It so happened that the jury were of a different opinion. Not that they could have doubted that the parodies were irreligious and profane, but they did not regard them as libellous. After only a quarter of an hour's consideration they returned a verdict of not guilty, amidst the loudest acclamations in every part of the court.

It was generally expected that after Hone had been acquitted by a jury of most respectable merchants in opposition to the charge of the judge, on the most important of the charges brought against him, the Government would have dropped the prosecution. But the legal advisers of the Crown

resolved, very unwisely, to proceed in the course on which they had entered. On the very day after Hone's acquittal on one charge, the Government brought him to trial on another. They seem to have thought that Mr. Justice Abbott had been too mild and gentle in his conduct towards the defendant, and Lord Chief-Justice Ellenborough was appointed to preside at the second trial. The indecorous scene of the previous day, however, was repeated with aggravations. Hone was this day indicted for publishing an impious and profane libel called the 'Litany or General Supplication.' Again the Attorney-General insisted that the parody, whatever might be the object of the defender, was fitted to cast ridicule upon the offices of the Church. In supporting this argument, he quoted various passages from the production, which says the reporter 'produced an involuntary burst of laughter from the auditory, evidently proceeding, not from a wish to disturb the court, but was really the irresistible impulse arising from the matter of the parody.' This 'indecorous laughter' was regarded by the Attorney-General as a convincing proof that the parody was a 'dangerous, impious, and profane publication.' If this parody, he said, were not a libel, 'there was no insult of the kind that might not be offered to the established religion and to the sacred writings with impunity.'

Hone in his defence followed the line which he had adopted on the previous day. Again, amid continued and most unseemly interruptions from the court, he quoted parody after parody, written by dignified clergymen, great lawyers and statesmen, and men of letters, to show that he had done nothing more than was done by staunch defenders of the Government—its pensioned adherents—and especially by the Cavaliers in their satires upon the Roundheads and Puritans. The audience vehemently applauded the poor and friendless bookseller, who thus manfully asserted his right to conduct his defence in the way which he thought most

suitable. The Attorney-General, a highly honourable and moderate man, stated frankly that 'the *intention* constituted the offence or established the innocence of the accused;' but Lord Ellenborough, who strained law and authority to the utmost to obtain a conviction, declared that if the publication had a *tendency* to create impiety in the minds of persons who read it, it was in law and in fact a libel. 'His lordship presides in this court,' rejoined Hone; 'but not to try me. You, the jury, are my judges. You are to try me, and to you I willingly submit my case. You are sworn to decide honestly the issue between me and the Crown; you are to determine upon my intention; you are to settle the difference between intention and tendency. The tendency may be bad, but was the intention so? That is the very gist of the case—the pinch of the argument.' When again most improperly interrupted by the judge, Hone exclaimed—'My lord, it is I who am upon my trial, not your lordship. I have to defend myself, not your lordship.' The acclamations which followed this natural expression of feeling made Lord Ellenborough lose all control of his temper. He ordered the sheriffs to leave the bench and go into the court to seize the offenders, but they utterly failed to lay hold of any one of them. 'Open your eyes and see, exclaimed his lordship, 'and stretch out your hands and seize. It is impossible that the officers can be doing their duty.' In a similar strain this remarkable trial proceeded to the close, Mr. Hone contending that since parodies in favour of the Government had been applauded and rewarded, and parodies on the Litany, praying for deliverance from the Rump, from 'apron-preachers and extempore prayers, and from governments created by the rabble,' had been regarded as meritorious and useful productions, there could be no good reason why he should be punished for a parody praying for delivery from 'an unnatural debt,' 'unmerited pensions,' 'sinecure places,' 'an extravagant civil list,' and from

'utter starvation' The Lord Chief-Justice, whose strength was evidently exhausted by the excitement which he had undergone during this protracted trial, charged very strongly against the defendant. 'He would declare to them his solemn opinion, as he was required by the Act of Parliament to do, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, he pronounced this to be a most impious and profane libel. Believing and hoping that they, the jury, were Christians, he had not any doubt that they would be of the same opinion.' The jury, however, after deliberating for nearly two hours, delivered a verdict of not guilty.

It might have been expected that the Ministry, having twice failed to establish the strongest parts of their charge against Hone, would have allowed the case to terminate here. But they were guilty of the almost incredible folly of bringing him once more to trial on the following day (December 20) for publishing a parody on the creed of St. Athanasius, called the 'Sinecurist's Creed.' Lord Ellenborough again presided at the trial. The defendant was evidently agitated and exhausted by the exertions of the two preceding days, on one of which he spoke six, and on the other seven hours, and the kind-hearted Attorney-General offered to postpone the proceedings; but the courageous publisher elected to go on. After the Attorney-General had finished his address, which closely resembled those of the two previous days, Mr. Hone asked for five minutes' delay to 'arrange the few thoughts he had been committing to paper.' Lord Ellenborough, however, refused him this trifling indulgence, but offered to postpone the trial to another day if the defendant would request the court to do so. Hone, however, excited by this refusal, as well as by the recollection of the treatment which he had received on the previous day, exclaimed, 'I make no such request.' Then turning from the jury to the judge, he said, 'My lord, I am very glad to see your lordship here

to-day, because I feel I sustained an injury from your lordship yesterday—an injury which I did not expect to sustain. If your lordship should think proper in this trial to-day to deliver your opinion, I hope that opinion will be coolly and dispassionately expressed.' Hone then proceeded, amid repeated interruptions, to argue that the judge was not bound to give his opinion whether or not the publication was libellous. His patience being at length exhausted by Lord Ellenborough's persistent attempts to put him down, he said, 'My lord, I think it necessary to make a stand here. I cannot say what your lordship may consider to be necessary interruption, but your lordship interrupted me a great many times yesterday, and then said you would interrupt me no more; and yet your lordship did interrupt me afterwards ten times as much as you had done before you said you would interrupt me no more. Gentlemen, it is you who are trying me to-day; his lordship is no judge of me. You are my judges, and you only are my judges. His lordship sits there to receive your verdict. I will not say what his lordship did yesterday, but I trust his lordship to-day will give his opinion coolly and dispassionately, without using either expression or gesture which could be construed as conveying an entreaty to the jury to think as he did. I hope the jury will not be beseeched into a verdict of guilty.'

After this spirited vindication of his rights, Hone was permitted to continue his defence without any unseemly interruption or further attempts on the part of the judge to browbeat him. In addition to the parodies which he quoted on the previous days, he cited a production of the Rev. Mr. Toplady, entitled 'Christianity Reversed, or Lord Chesterfield's New Creed,' parodies of the Athanasian creed from the 'Foundling Hospital for Wit' and the 'Wonderful Magazine;' and 'A New Political Creed,' written against the great Lord Chatham, which closely resembled his own parody, 'The Sinecurist's Creed.' After referring to the opinions expressed by Archbishop

Tillotson, Dr. Porteous, bishop of London, and other dignified clergymen, against the authenticity of the Athanasian creed, Hone was proceeding to quote the views of the bishop of Carlisle, Lord Ellenborough's father, when his lordship, with evident emotion, said, 'I do not know what his opinion was on this point. Whatever that opinion was, he has gone many years ago where he has had to account for his belief and his opinions.' Hone was proceeding to make some particular reference to this point when Lord Ellenborough exclaimed, 'For common delicacy forbear!' 'O, my lord,' said Hone, in a subdued and respectful tone, 'I shall, most certainly.' Hone, worn out as he was, spoke upwards of eight hours. Lord Ellenborough, in his charge to the jury, repeated the opinion which he had expressed on the previous day, that the parody was a profane and impious libel, and 'entreated the jury to consider the importance of the case which they were called upon to decide—that the temporal comforts and spiritual interests of their countrymen might defend their verdict;' but the jury, after an absence of only twenty minutes, returned a verdict of not guilty.

'The moment the words were pronounced,' says the *Annual Register* 'a spontaneous burst of applause issued from the crowd in the court, which soon extended to the crowd outside; and for some minutes the halls and adjoining avenues rang with shouts and acclamations.'

On the 29th of December a crowded meeting was held at the City of London Tavern, presided over by Alderman Waithman, at which speeches were made by Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, and a number of the most eminent merchants in the city, and resolutions were adopted expressing gratification at Mr. Hone's triumphant acquittal, and the vindication of the liberty of the press; denouncing the Government as guilty of a hypocritical prostitution of religion and a pretended zeal for its defence, in order to serve their own

selfish ends; and inaugurating a subscription in behalf of Mr. Hone and his family, which ultimately reached £3000. The result of this ill-advised prosecution was to give notoriety and a handsome reward to a man who, however exemplary in his domestic relations, had undoubtedly been guilty of a grave offence against good morals; to multiply by hundreds of thousands the readers of a series of profane and indecent publications; and to bring upon the Government the not unmerited reproach of having undertaken legal proceedings, not as they professed to protect religion, but to 'crush an apparently defenceless individual' who had exposed their political delinquencies, to stifle public discussion, to destroy the liberty of the press, and to uphold existing abuses. It was in fact the universal conviction that, though the alleged seditious character of Hone's parodies was 'studiously kept in the background,' the author was really persecuted for his political opinions, that saved Hone from the conviction which his parodies deserved. Even Lord Dudley, the personal friend and afterwards the colleague of Mr. Canning, entertained this conviction. In a letter to Bishop Coplestone, who had expressed his conviction that the prosecution was uncalled for and oppressive, Lord Dudley says, 'I am particularly gratified with what you say about the business of Hone. It is an additional proof, if any were wanting, of your superiority to those prejudices with which place and profession might have inspired a man of less sound understanding and a less independent character. I have been inclined all along to think, and what you say confirms me in the opinion, that the prosecution was discreditable to the Government and to its law advisers. Not that I believe that they were actuated by tyrannical principles. It was a mere blunder; but the success of it would have afforded a very mischievous precedent for bad times. Certainly this man meant no good either to Church or State, and that is reason enough for the whole race of

methodistical Tories — who are guided entirely by their own feelings as to the particular case, without any regard to, or knowledge of, the general principles of justice—to be sadly grieved that his ears were not cropped, as they would have been by the Star Chamber. That famous tribunal no doubt had its merits. It punished many scoundrels that could not have been got at by a regular course of law, and was therefore an object of admiration so long as it lasted, and of regret when it fell, to precisely the same sort of persons that now mourn over the acquittal of Hone.’

There was another result of Hone’s acquittal, which no one had foreseen. It led to the retirement of the redoubted Chief-Justice, who had presided at his trial. On the 21st of December, the day after the last trial, Lord Ellenborough wrote thus to the Home Secretary: ‘The disgraceful events which have occurred at Guildhall, within the last three or four days, have led me, both on account of the public and myself, to consider very seriously my own sufficiency, particularly in point of bodily health and strength, to discharge the official duties of my station in the manner in which, at the present critical moment, it is particularly necessary they should be discharged. . . . I wish to carry my meditated purpose into effect, as soon as the convenience of Government in regard to the due selection and appointment of my successor may allow.’

Lord Ellenborough was a person of remarkable energy of character, and an able and accomplished lawyer. The great ability and skill with which he conducted the defence of Warren Hastings first brought him prominently into notice; and having abandoned his early Whig principles in consequence of the horrors of the French Revolution, and attached himself to the Tory party, he was speedily marked out for promotion. In 1801 he was appointed Attorney-General under the ministry of Addington, and in the following year he succeeded Lord Kenyon as Chief-Justice of

the King’s Bench. He was offered the Great Seal in the Ministry of ‘All the Talents,’ which he declined; but agreed to accept a seat in the Cabinet—an unconstitutional step which he afterwards regretted. Both in the Lower and the Upper House Lord Ellenborough’s voice was always heard loudly advocating the coercive and repressive measures brought forward by the Government. He was equally zealous and courageous in his defence of sinecures, which a number even of staunch ministerialists wished to abolish. ‘Reduction of salary,’ he argued, ‘must proceed on the ground of diminution of duty. As nothing had ever been done in the chief clerkship of the Court of King’s Bench (which was held by his son with emoluments amounting to nearly £10,000 a year), it is impossible that less could be done in it in future.’ Lord Ellenborough’s advocacy of the sanguinary criminal code of that day was much more mischievous than even his defence of sinecures. It was his influence mainly that induced the Ministry and the Parliament to maintain in his life-time that code in all its shocking severity; that persuaded the Peers to punish with death the offence of stealing five shillings from a shop, and to believe that picking pockets had been increased by the abolition of this punishment. His friends bear testimony to the integrity and even kindness of his private life; but it cannot be denied that when he presided at the trials of persons accused of libels against the Government, or sedition or treason, he always summed up strongly against the defendants, though the jury not unfrequently acquitted them of the charge. His resignation of the Chief-Justiceship was not carried into effect till September, 1818, and he died on the 13th of December following. He was succeeded by Mr. Justice Abbott, whose disposition and conduct on the bench presented a marked contrast to that of his harsh and overbearing predecessor.

The Chief-Justice of England was not the only important official who retired

from office at this period Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, also was constrained by illness to vacate the chair which he had occupied for the unusually long period of fifteen years. Abbot was the youngest son of a clergyman, whose widow afterwards married the father of Jeremy Bentham. He was educated at Westminster school and at Oxford, and subsequently studied foreign jurisprudence at Geneva. He was called to the bar in 1783; but after eleven years practice he abandoned his profession, and accepted the office of Clerk of the Robes in the Court of King's Bench, with a salary of £2700 a year. In 1795 he was returned to Parliament for the pocket borough of Helston. He rarely took part in the debates, but he devoted himself with great zeal to the promotion of administrative reforms. He presided over the Finance Committee of 1797, and he moved for an inquiry into the National Records. He effected a great improvement in the language of the statutes as regards clearness and brevity, and also in the responsibility of revenue collectors. It was he who introduced the first bill for taking an accurate and periodical census of the population. He thus acquired the reputation of an able and industrious member; and on Mr Pitt's retirement in 1801, Addington, who had been Speaker, became Prime Minister, and prevailed upon Abbot to accept the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland. Mitford, who had been appointed Addington's successor in the Speakership, a few months later, became Chancellor of Ireland, and Abbot was selected to succeed him in the chair of the House of Commons.

He discharged the duties of this office with great dignity and courtesy; and though strongly Conservative in all his notions, and disposed to advocate extreme measures in support of his own powers and the privileges of the House, he was universally admitted to have acted with fairness and impartiality. On one occasion only did he so far forget what was due to his position and to the House as to make a speech on the last day of the session of 1813, eulogizing all the measures of the Government, and, in allusion to the rejection of the Roman Catholic clauses, concluding with the words — 'Other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the Throne, the Parliament, and the Government of this country are made fundamentally Protestant, we have not consented to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorized to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm.' This injudicious and, indeed, altogether improper speech was made the subject of a debate in the following session, in which the Speaker was treated with great severity; and it forms the subject of one of Moore's witty satirical poems, entitled 'Little Man and Little Soul.' It should be stated, however, to Abbot's credit for integrity and firmness, that when in April, 1805, the House divided on the motion for the impeachment of Lord Melville, and there was an equality of votes, he gave his vote for the impeachment, much to the displeasure and annoyance of the Ministry and their supporters.



## CHAPTER VII.

Princess Charlotte—Her Character and Education—Treatment by her Father—Engagement to the Prince of Orange, and its Termination—Marriage to Prince Leopold—Her Death—Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom—Sinecures and Pensions—Church Patronage.

THE death of the Princess Charlotte, the presumptive heiress to the throne of Great Britain, which took place in November, 1817, plunged the whole nation into deep grief, and was felt as a personal bereavement by all classes of the community. The life of the princess previous to her marriage was the reverse of happy. The alienation which had existed between her parents almost from the time of her birth would of itself have placed her in a painful position; but the Prince Regent seems to have transferred to his daughter some portion of the dislike which he cherished towards his wife, and his jealousy was shown in many other ways besides his attempt to prevent intercourse between her and her mother. She was brought up in the most secluded manner. She saw scarcely any society, and was rigidly denied the enjoyments common to her sex and age. 'It makes me sad to think,' she wrote, 'of the time past or the time to come; I don't know which is most painful, the past or the future.' She was sixteen years of age before she was allowed to 'come out in a limited way,' and to be introduced to the quietest society. Her grandfather, who always took an interest in her welfare and protected her from ill-treatment, was now hopelessly insane; and the queen, her grandmother, a cold, distant, stiff, and ceremonious personage, could have had little sympathy with a young, impulsive, headstrong girl. Lord Brougham, indeed, affirms that 'from her earliest years the princess had to struggle with the hatred of the old queen, which never ceased to annoy her, and certainly was communicated to several of the princesses, her daughters.'

The princess seems to have had little or no intercourse with her maternal relatives. Her mother, whom she loved but could not greatly respect, could do little or nothing to promote her comfort and welfare; and she had no acquaintance with her mother's family, the head of which, 'Brunswick's fated chieftain,' fell at Quatre Bras, fighting under the Duke of Wellington. Little as the princess saw of her father, she saw enough to make her aware of his self-indulgent, weak, and worthless character. At the age of fifteen, when she was about to visit the Opera for the first time, she dined at Carlton House, the residence of the Prince Regent. As was not unfrequently the case, he took more wine than he could carry discreetly, broke out in violent invectives against Lords Grey and Grenville, and indulged in language which so shocked his daughter that she burst into tears, and rose from the table expressing herself strongly on the distress she felt in hearing such expressions from her father's lips. This incident, which made a great noise at the time, suggested the well-known verses by Lord Byron—

'Weep, daughter of a royal line,  
A sire's disgrace, a realm's decay.  
Ah! happy if each tear of thine  
Could wash a father's faults away.

'Weep—for thy tears are virtuous tears,  
Auspicious to these suffering isles—  
And be each drop in future years  
Repaid thee by thy people's smiles.'

The princess when a girl, Lord Albemarle says, was 'excessively violent in her disposition, but easily appeased, very warm-hearted, and never so happy as when doing a kindness.' Lord Brougham, who knew her well, corroborates this statement.

She inherited, he says, 'from her mother, another great quality besides her courage; she was free from anything mean, or spiteful, or revengeful, in an extraordinary degree. She was entirely without affectation or pretence; she had no pride, her manners were natural and playful, her affections were warm and constant.' She was possessed of excellent talents, and they were carefully cultivated by her preceptors. She seems to have prosecuted her studies with great assiduity; she was fond of reading and of the arts, especially sculpture, and had attained remarkable proficiency in the accomplishments proper to her sex and station. The little that was known to the public of her character and habits excited high expectations of her future career, and the people looked eagerly forward to the time when she should ascend the throne, and render it once more worthy of a nation's homage and affection.

The tribute which the people paid to the principles and conduct of the princess, however, was the reverse of pleasing to the Prince Regent. The unnatural father was jealous of his daughter's popularity. Sir Samuel Romilly wrote on November 30, 1812—'The Prince Regent went to the House of Lords and opened the session. On his way to the House and back again, he was received with a dead and most humiliating silence: no marks of disapprobation, but no applause. The Princess Charlotte, who was present as a spectator of the ceremony, was recognized by the people on her return, and was greeted with loud and repeated huzzas.' The desire of being freed from such mortifying occurrences was, no doubt, one reason why the Prince Regent was anxious that his daughter should marry and be removed to another sphere. He had selected the Prince of Orange for her husband, and the princess seemed at first to have no objection to the match, though there is no reason to believe that she ever cherished any strong affection for him. But though he was regarded as 'unexceptionable' in respect

both to personal character and position, and had been educated in England, and had served under the Duke of Wellington in the Netherlands, a serious difficulty arose in connection with the future residence of the prince and princess. He was heir to the Crown of Holland, and would, as a matter of course, require to reside during the greater part of each year in his future kingdom. This consideration undoubtedly was a great recommendation of the match to the Prince Regent, but it was very much the reverse to his daughter. She strongly objected to the proposed arrangement on which her father, of course, insisted. He became angry at her refusal to give way to his wish; and the Prince of Orange made matters worse by siding with his intended father-in-law, and taking his part against her mother. The princess, who was as strong-willed as her father, and much more energetic in carrying out her views, on this broke off the marriage. Her father was furious, threatened all sorts of restrictions, dismissed his daughter's governess and all her servants, whom he suspected of abetting her proceedings, and informed her that she was immediately to remove to Carlton House. On this she ran out of her residence in Warwick Street, and, getting into a hackney coach, was driven to her mother's. The Duke of Sussex and Mr. Brougham were immediately sent for, and with some difficulty persuaded the princess to go to Carlton House. The duke, however, lost no time in writing to Lord Liverpool, remonstrating upon the treatment his niece had received, desiring to know whether it was by the advice of the ministers, and requesting that he might have access to the princess. The result was that better treatment was promised her, though not given, and that she was removed to Cranbourne Lodge, in Windsor Park.

During the time of her engagement to the Prince of Orange, the princess had accidentally met at Carlton House Prince Leopold, the youngest of the three sons

of the Duke of Saxe Coburg. He had been fascinated by the charms of a beautiful Englishwoman whom he met at Paris in 1814, and had followed her with the allied sovereigns to London. The object of his admiration was an acquaintance of the Princess Charlotte, who expressed her wonder, as the prince was 'so handsome, that the young lady did not seem more flattered by his attentions.' This casual remark of the princess was repeated to Leopold, who shortly after left England and joined the army of the Rhine, on Napoleon's return from Elba. After the battle of Waterloo he visited England a second time, and having reason to think that he was not unacceptable to the princess, he paid his addresses to her. The opinion which the princess entertained of her admirer is fully expressed in a letter which she wrote to her friend Lady Charlotte Lindsay, after she had accepted him:—

'In two points of view I am *quite convinced* that it is the best possible thing for *this country* (a subject I am ever *alive to*); first, in respect to its securing my private and domestic comfort; secondly, as to the Prince of Coburg's relations and connections abroad, and his situation of a younger brother. Painful as the fact has been, yet I confess the retrospect does but enhance the *value* of the *present good* obtained, and makes me the more grateful for it, and *thoughtful* for the *escape* I made. I can with truth say that not one hour of my life have I ever regretted the line I took on a former occasion.

'Nothing you can utter in the Prince of Coburg's praise is too much; . . . indeed, he deserves all possible praise and admiration, for his is *not an easy task*, situation, or game to play. The more he is known, the more, I am sure, this country will be inclined to confide much in him, as he has a *head*, a *heart*, and abilities of no common sort—indeed, I may add, that fall to few mortals.

'His attachment is certainly entirely personal towards me, and not from my situation. It began at a time when he felt he had no chance. I am therefore most singularly fortunate—certainly no princess or prince before me ever having been able, I believe, to form a matrimonial alliance from inclination.'

It appears that Leopold had made also a favourable impression upon the Prince

Regent, who was not unwilling to bring to an end the contest with his daughter, in which he was certain in the long run to be worsted. The negotiations for the marriage were speedily brought to a satisfactory close. On the 12th of March, 1816, a message from the Prince Regent announced the projected union to both Houses of Parliament, and on the evening of the 2nd of May the marriage ceremony was performed in the drawing room of Carlton House.

This desirable event was hailed by the nation with every manifestation of delight; and all classes of the community regarded it with cordial approbation. It was well known that the marriage was one of the purest affection. The chosen partner of the heiress presumptive to the Crown was believed to be every way worthy of the high position which he had attained—simple in his tastes and habits, judicious, active, amiable, and virtuous, well fitted to regulate her impulsive temperament, and to contribute in every way to the happiness of the wife who loved him with the most devoted affection. The short year of their wedded life was spent in domestic pursuits and the purest happiness. 'She enjoyed,' says the eloquent preacher Robert Hall, 'the highest connubial felicity, and had the prospect of combining all the tranquil enjoyments of private life with the splendour of a royal station. Placed on the summit of society, to her every eye was turned, in her every hope was centred, and nothing was wanting to complete her felicity except perpetuity. To a disposition of mind suited to her royal birth and lofty distinction, she joined an exquisite taste for the beauties of nature and the charms of retirement, where, far from the gaze of the multitude and the frivolous agitations of fashionable life, she employed her time in visiting with her consort the cottages of the poor, in improving their virtues, in perfecting her reason, and acquiring the knowledge best adapted to qualify her for the possession of power and the cares of empire.' But the happiness of the wedded pair, and

the fond hopes of the nation, were blasted almost in a moment. 'Her sun went down while it was yet day.' 'Without the slightest warning, without the opportunity of a moment's immediate preparation, in the midst of the deepest tranquillity, at midnight a voice was heard in the palace, not of singing men and singing women, not of revelry and mirth, but the cry, "Behold the bridegroom cometh." On the 5th of November she was delivered, after a very severe and protracted labour, of a dead male child. 'She was too prostrate,' says her biographer, 'to realize the bitter disappointment. Yet even then she thought of her husband's sorrow, and sought to mitigate it by declaring herself the happiest wife in England.' The fatal result was totally unexpected, not only by the Cabinet ministers, who, as usual, were in attendance, but even by the physicians. Lord Eldon relates that he 'went into the room where the surgeons were consulting what bulletin of the princess they should send, and they had actually drawn one up stating that she was going on as favourably as possible, when Baillie came in, and after reading it he refused to sign it, for such was not his opinion. We (the ministers) returned to our homes about two o'clock in the morning, and before six a messenger arrived to let us know that the princess was dead.' The popular outcry was loud against the doctors, and Sir Richard Croft, who was chiefly blamed, in a few months afterwards committed suicide. But there is no reason to suppose that the melancholy catastrophe was in any degree to be imputed either to their want of skill or of attention.

The death of the Princess Charlotte was universally felt and acknowledged to be a great public calamity. Her pure domestic life presented such a marked contrast to that of the other members of the royal family, that she had become both the pride and the hope of the entire nation, who fondly dreamed their children should obey her child, and all classes, from the peer to the peasant, were filled with 'mourning, lamen-

tation, and woe.' The verses in which Lord Byron expressed his grief at the untimely death of the 'fair-haired daughter of the isles' found an echo in every heart:—

'Hark! forth from the abyss a voice proceeds,  
A long, low, distant murmur of dread sound,  
Such as arises when a nation bleeds,  
With some deep and unmedicable wound.

'Scion of chiefs and monarchs, where art thou?  
Fond hope of many nations, art thou dead?  
Could not the grave forget thee, and lay low  
Some less majestic, less beloved head?

... .. *'So young, so fair.*  
Good without effort, great without a foe;  
But now a bride and mother—and now *there!*  
How many ties did that stern moment tear!  
From thy sire's to his humblest subject's heart  
Is link'd the electric chain of that despair.  
Whose shock was as an earthquake's, and oppress  
The land which loved thee so, that none could love  
thee best.'

The consequences, both direct and indirect, of the death of the Princess Charlotte, had a very important influence on the history of Great Britain, and indeed of Europe. The leading members of the Government at this period were certainly not remarkable for their skill in discerning the signs of the times; but even they now began to have some perception of the necessity of taking steps to allay the popular clamour against sinecures and pensions. Accordingly, at the beginning of the session, they proposed the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the income and expenditure of the United Kingdom, and to consider what measures may be adopted for the relief of the country from any part of the said expenditure without detriment to the public interest.' In three months the committee reported to the House of Commons a scheme for the gradual abolition of sinecures, which was supported by the Government, who were really its authors, because, as they alleged, 'it would not diminish the influence of the Crown, would produce no large reduction of expense, but would convince the people that Parliament was doing everything possible to relieve their burdens.' The people, however, were not convinced that either the Parliament or the Monarchy had done anything of the kind; and no one

who is acquainted with the enormous number of sinecures and unmerited pensions which existed at this period will question the soundness of public opinion on that subject. Prime ministers even, and members of the Cabinet, as a matter of course, provided for the members of their family and their friends at the public expense. Lord Grenville held the sinecure office of Auditor of the Exchequer, with a salary of £4000 a year; and his younger brother received upwards of £2000 a year as one of the Chief Justices in Eyre, which even Lord Liverpool's ministry were obliged, for shame's sake, to abolish as utterly useless. And yet, on retiring from office along with Pitt in 1801, he was not ashamed to demand a pension of £1500 a year for Lady Grenville, which she did not resign until 1820. The Duke of Portland, a territorial magnate of the first class, bestowed the office of Clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer, with a salary of £1131, on one of his sons, who enjoyed £2511 as colonel of the 11th Hussars, together with three sinecure offices, yielding £1520 a year, on his son-in-law. His grandson, Charles Greville (Clerk of the Privy Council, whose posthumous memoirs have obtained for him a durable but dubious reputation), received £3000 a year as Secretary to the Government of Jamaica, though he never set foot on the island, and £2000 a year as Clerk of the Council. Lord Sidmouth made his eldest son Clerk of the Pells, with a salary of £3000. Lord Liverpool, in addition to his salary as Prime Minister, enjoyed £3000 a year as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was also Commissioner for the affairs of India and Clerk of the Rolls in Ireland, and received altogether about £13,000 a year from the national funds. Earl Bathurst, another member of the Government, besides his official salary, received £2700 as teller of the Exchequer, and £1105 as Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. In addition, his family were in the receipt of between £10,000 and £12,000 a year from fees and pensions. The Chief Justices in Eyre

received £4000 a year, though they had avowedly no duties to perform. The Clerk of the Pells, who held an office of the same kind, had a salary of £3000 a year. There were four clerkships of the Signets, and an equal number of clerkships of the Privy Seal.

The legal dignitaries were equally mindful of the duty of providing for their own household. Lord Chancellor Thurlow's nephew, a clergyman, held the sinecure offices of Patentee for Execution of Bankruptcy Laws, Clerk of Transfers in Chancery, Prothonotary of the Court of Chancery, &c., yielding £11,000 a year. Lord Kenyon, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, made his eldest son Custos Brevium, with £2696 a year; and a younger son, still more fortunate, drew £6000 a year as fees and compensation. His successor, Lord Ellenborough, who boldly defended sinecures as right and proper, made his eldest son Chief Clerk of the Court of King's Bench, to which, as his lordship frankly admitted, no duties were attached; but the office yielded its fortunate holder nearly £10,000 a year. And Lord Eldon, not to be behind such praiseworthy examples, made one of his sons a registrar of deeds for the West Riding of Yorkshire, with £1200; and another registrar of affidavits and receiver of fines in the Court of Chancery, with a salary of £2000 a year. Sinecures, in short, were nestled in every nook and corner of the public service; and the aristocracy as a body, and the borough-mongers in particular, seem to have regarded the national treasury as the most legitimate and proper source for the supply of their wants and the support of their families. Lord Arden, one of the Percival family, was Registrar of the Court of Admiralty, with a remuneration of £10,000 a year. The Chief-Clerk of the House of Commons, according to Abbot, the Speaker (afterwards Lord Colchester), received from fees at least £12,000 a year, while the tenth part of that sum would have been ample payment for his services. The Earl of Chatham, the commander of the discreditable Wal-

cheren expedition, had a pension of £4000 a year; £1800 as governor of Jersey; was also colonel of the 4th regiment of Foot; and his countess, if she survived him, was to receive a pension of £3000 a year. There were no fewer than four tellers of the Exchequer, each of whom drew £2600 a year. The Duke of Grafton received a hereditary pension of £11,900 a year; but not content with this unearned and unmerited share of the national funds, he obtained in addition £2800 a year as Sealer of the King's Bench and Common Pleas. The Countess of Mansfield received £1000 a year from the Barbadoes planters, and the Duchess Dowager of Manchester £2982 a year as late Collector of the Customs outwards. Another right honourable lady was Sweeper of the Mall in the Park, a third was Chief Usher in the Court of Exchequer. The Duchess Dowager of Newcastle had a pension of £780. The Countess Dowager of Clare received £1000 a year. Indeed, the pension list was studded over with the names of the mothers, wives, sisters, and other female relatives of wealthy noblemen or of ministers of the Crown. In fact, as a bitter satirist said, 'Every want is to be provided for out of the taxes, whether it be for the support of an aged parent, sister, niece, illegitimate child, or cast-off mistress.' These are only a few examples out of hundreds that might be adduced. Lord Colchester states that one of the four patentees of the sinecure situation of Custos Brevium was a woman, a second a Roman Catholic, the third a lunatic, and the fourth an infant. There was, indeed, no office, however humble, which was thought beneath the dignity even of a duke, provided that an adequate salary was attached to it. Hence the names of noble lords and their sons, as well as of wives and daughters, and of right honourable gentlemen, appear in great numbers as holding the offices of ushers, clerks, tide-waiters, harbour-masters, searchers, packers, wharfingers, prothonotaries, and other humble and menial situa-

tions. Lord Henry Seymour, an uncle of Lord Castleleigh, was crane and wharfinger at the port of Dublin, and when his office was abolished he received £1251 a year as compensation. The Hon. R. H. Fitzgibbon was Usher in the Court of Chancery, with an income of £2940 a year. The Earl of Leitrim was port-searcher at Dublin, with £1359 per annum. Two of the Seymours received £1000 a year as wine tasters for the royal household. Two of the Beresfords received £2157 a year each as compensation for the loss of their office as joint storekeepers of the Customs. Lord Avonmore received £901 a year as searcher, packer, and gauger at the port of Cork.

It was customary not only to make grants of offices that were vacant, but also to anticipate vacancies by granting them in reversion, constituting persons the heirs, as it were, of the present possessors. Sometimes these reversions were granted to two or three persons at once, so that if one chanced to die before the office in question became vacant, one of the others might succeed to it. Such reversions have been granted to children in the nursery, and in this way offices were virtually disposed of for many years to come. Matters were even worse in Ireland. The Clerk of the Pleas in that country received from fees illegally exacted not less than £10,000 a year, and his deputy pocketed £7000 a year from the same illegal source. Scotland did not escape the influence of the universal system of jobbery. Lord Melville (Henry Dundas) enjoyed a salary of £2800 a year as Keeper of the Privy Seal in Scotland—a purely sinecure office. The Earl of Rosslyn, who was an officer in the army, was made Director of Chancery in Scotland at a salary of £1810. The Duke of Gordon drew £3000 a year as Keeper of the Great Seal. The Duke of Montrose, who was Master of the Horse with a salary of £1266, received an additional £2000 a year for the sinecure office of Justice-General of Scotland. William Dundas, cousin of Lord Melville, was even more fortunate, receiving

£5000 a year from his offices of Lord Clerk Register, Keeper of the Signet, &c. The Duke of Athole enjoyed a pension of £4059 a year, and each of his three daughters received £100 a year as long as they remained unmarried. A return made to the House of Commons in 1809 shows, that at that time the sinecure offices in Great Britain and Ireland, and the Colonies, cost the country not less than £356,555 a year.

Official patronage in the Army was as grossly abused as in the Civil service. It was no uncommon occurrence to find commissions held by boys in the nursery or at school, and to be told that 'the major was crying because his pap was not ready for him.' 'A boy with brains,' says Mr. Walpole, 'might possibly be sent to the Bar; a boy with interest might do very well for the Church; a boy with land might hope to represent the family borough. But a boy who had not brains, interest, or land, was generally sent into the army. If he were killed, he required no further provision; if he survived his comrades, the pecuniary value of his commission became a small fortune. Boys, it must be remembered, who had any interest at all, did not starve for many months on the pay of a subaltern. Sir Charles Stewart was by no means the most unduly favoured of his generation, and his career is not a bad example of the promotion which young men of good family might obtain in the British army at the close of the eighteenth century. Sir Charles Stewart was an ensign at thirteen, a lieutenant at fifteen, a captain at sixteen, a major at seventeen, and lieutenant-colonel at less than nineteen years of age. When he received his first commission he was an Eton boy, and no one thought it necessary to take the boy from school because he happened to be receiving pay in his country's service.'

But birth and favour, though a sure, were by no means the only passport to position in the army. There can, unfortunately, be no doubt that bribery and corruption of the most degrading kind were sometimes, at

least, employed to obtain promotion in the service. The disgraceful disclosures made in the course of the inquiry by the House of Commons into the charges brought against the Duke of York by Colonel Wardle, left no doubt of the fact, which it turned out was well known at the Horse Guards, that the mistress of the commander-in-chief, the wife of another man, and a woman who had risen from a very low situation in life, had unbounded influence over him, and received large sums of money from officers of position for employing that influence in their behalf. The cautious and candid Romilly writes, 'It was established beyond the possibility of doubt that the duke had permitted Mrs. Clarke, his mistress, to interfere in military promotions; that he had given commissions at her recommendation; and that she had taken money for the recommendations. That the duke knew that she took money, or knew that the establishment which he had set on foot for her was partly supported by the money thus illegally procured by her, did not otherwise appear than from her evidence. She, however, asserted the fact directly and positively, and her evidence was supported, in many particulars which seemed the most incredible, by such strong corroborations, that her immoral character, her resentment, and her contradictions were not sufficient to render her evidence altogether incredible.' The Government and their supporters, who formed a large majority of the House of Commons, made a strenuous effort to shield his Royal Highness, and carried by 364 votes to 123 a resolution moved by the prime minister, Mr. Perceval, that 'it was the opinion of the House that the evidence reported to it afforded no ground for the House to charge the Duke of York in the execution of his official duties as commander-in-chief with the personal corruption alleged against him in that evidence, or with any connivance at the corrupt and infamous practices which are therein disclosed.' But this verdict of acquittal did not carry with it the approval

of the people, and the duke was constrained by the pressure, not only of public opinion, but of the prime minister himself, to resign his office of commander-in-chief. It was never intended, however, either by the Court or the Ministry, that the retirement of his Royal Highness should be more than temporary, and accordingly, the office was conferred upon Sir David Dundas, a worn-out veteran seventy-four years of age, but a devoted adherent of the Court. Two years afterwards, when it was supposed that the popular clamour against the duke had died away, Sir David dutifully resigned his office, and the duke was reinstated in his former position. Dundas was, of course, liberally rewarded for his convenient services. He accumulated a large fortune, which he settled upon his nephew, leaving his widow to be provided for by a pension conferred upon her by the Government.

The mode in which patronage was exercised in the Church excited even greater scandal than in the Civil Service or in the Army. While divines like Paley and others of the same class, distinguished for their abilities and learning, and the eminent services which they had rendered to the cause of religion, were passed over by patrons both lay and clerical, the highest ecclesiastical offices, and the richest preferments were conferred upon men whose only claim was the influence exerted by powerful political friends on their behalf. Ten of the most important and lucrative sees, including the two archbishoprics and the Palatinate of Durham, were held at this time by the sons, grandsons, or brothers of peers. Nearly the whole of the remaining sixteen were given to the tutors of prime ministers and dukes, or to persons possessing powerful interest at court or with the Government. The prelates in turn used their patronage without scruple for the benefit of their families. The most notorious of these clerical nepotists was Dr. Tomline (who afterwards assumed the name of Pretymán), bishop of Lincoln, and subsequently of Winchester, Pitt's tutor, whom the premier wished

to make archbishop of Canterbury, but was prevented by George III., who objected to Tomline on account of his humble birth. 'This mean and cunning prelate,' as Sydney Smith terms him, not only accumulated an enormous fortune, but heaped preferments upon his sons until even his episcopal compeers cried shame on him. The Rev. G. T. Pretymán, one of his sons, became chancellor and canon residentiary of Lincoln, prebendary of Winchester, rector of St. Giles Chalfont, rector of Wheat-Hampstead, and rector of Harpenden. Richard Pretymán, another son, became precentor and canon residentiary of Lincoln, rector of Middleton-Stoney, rector of Walgrave, vicar of Hannington, and rector of Wroughton. A third son, John Pretymán, became prebendary of Lincoln rector of Sherrington, and rector of Winwick.

Dr. Sparke, bishop of Ely (who owed his promotion to his having been tutor to the Duke of Rutland), the annual value of whose see and dependencies, exclusive of patronage, was £27,742, was a worthy associate of the bishop of Lincoln. His eldest son, the Rev. J. H. Sparke, was rector of Leverington and of Littlebury, incumbent of Bexwell, prebendary of Ely, steward of the bishop's manorial courts, and chancellor of the diocese—yielding him, in the aggregate, £4500 a year. The Rev. Edward Sparke, the bishop's youngest son, succeeded to the consolidated livings of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Feltwell, the vicarage of Littleport, and a prebendal stall in Ely. He was also registrar of the diocese and examining chaplain to his father, and derived from these numerous appointments an income of £4000 a year. The Rev. Henry Fardell, the bishop's son-in-law, was equally well provided for—the livings of Waterbeach and Wisbeach and a prebendal stall in Ely yielding him not less than £3700 a year. The primate of all England, Archbishop Sutton, though moderate and reasonable compared with the Sparkes and the Pretymáns of the



church, used—not to say abused—his ecclesiastical patronage after the fashion of his clerical contemporaries. Seven of the Suttons shared among them sixteen rectories, vicarages, and chapelries, besides preacher-ships, and dignities in cathedrals. Three of the primate's nine daughters were married to clergymen. Hugh Percy, son of the Earl of Bevciley, married one daughter, and was portioned off with eight different preferments, estimated to be worth about £10,000 per annum—a goodly dowry. This fortunate pluralist ultimately became bishop of Carlisle. Another daughter married the Rev. James Croft, who became archdeacon of Canterbury, prebendary of Canterbury, rector of Cliffe-at-Hone, and curate of Hythe—all preferments in the gift of the archbishop. Bishops' sons and sons-in-law, however, were not the only pluralists. The prelates themselves, in not a few cases, did not hesitate to accumulate preferments in their own persons. Majendie, bishop of Bangor, for example, whose father was a German, and filled a situation in the royal household, and who, before his elevation to the episcopate, had been the king's neighbour at Kew, held no fewer than eleven parochial livings. His was no doubt an extreme case, but he by no means stood alone in his acquisitive propensities. There were in one diocese alone at this time no fewer than 216 clergymen who each held two livings, forty who held three each, thirteen who held four each, one who held five, and one who held six, besides dignities and offices. As a matter of course, in these circumstances, a large number of the clergy were non-resident. The law, indeed, required every incumbent to reside on his own living for a certain number of months in each year; but the bishops had a discretionary power of relaxing this rule, which, it is alleged, they employed in general very loosely, though sometimes capriciously and harshly. There were at this time 10,421 benefices in England and Wales, and between 6000 and 7000 incumbents were non-resident. In the diocese of Ely there

were only forty-five resident incumbents on 140 livings, which embraced a population of more than 82,000 souls, and afforded an aggregate income of upwards of £60,000 a year. Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, who was one of the representatives of the University of Oxford, and a staunch, almost bigoted friend of the Church, was anxious to remedy this flagrant evil by an enactment, that every non-resident clergyman should provide a curate, with a suitable salary, to take charge of his parish. But so fierce was the opposition of the pluralists to this moderate and equitable proposal, that he was compelled by his clerical constituents to withdraw the bill. Perceval, on three several occasions, brought in the measure which Sir William Scott had been obliged to drop; but with all the power of the Government to support him, he was unable to carry it.

Such was the position of the country in regard to sinecures and pluralities, when the Ministry and the Parliament were compelled to deal with these subjects in 1817. The finance committee reported that they 'saw no reason to doubt that the annual income now derived from the offices which are thus brought under the observation of the House, as being at the disposal of the Crown, and fit to be abolished or regulated, may be estimated at from ninety to a hundred thousand pounds.' The mere enumeration of the offices which they recommended the legislature to abolish, will serve to show the extent to which the country had been burdened with payments that were entirely superfluous, and in not a few cases positively mischievous:—The Chief Justices in Eyre, the Auditor of the Exchequer, the Clerk of the Pells, four tellers of the Exchequer, the Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, the Commissary-General of Trustees, one of the joint Paymasters-Generals and his deputy, the Paymaster of Marines, law clerk at Secretary of State's Office, collector and transmitter of State Papers, Clerk of the Parliaments, four clerks of the Signet, and four clerks of

the Privy Seal, Comptroller-General of Accounts, Excise and Inspector-General, Registrar to Commissioner of Excise, and Inspector-General of Coffee and Tea—all of which, it was said, may be abolished without inconvenience to the public services. The abolition of the corresponding offices in Scotland and Ireland was also recommended, and upwards of twenty sinecure offices in the courts of law which were in the gift of the Crown. Nearly an equal number of sinecure offices of the same class in Ireland, and half a dozen in Scotland, were also placed in the category of useless and expensive places. Sweeping changes were also recommended to be made in the military and naval services, and in their official establishments, though far short in every department of what has since been accomplished.

The Government had hitherto resisted every attempt to abolish sinecure offices and to diminish public expenditure; but the excitement produced by the universal dis-

tress prevailing in the country, compelled them to take steps to allay the existing discontent. In the session of 1817, in which the reports of the committee were presented, the Government brought in no fewer than six acts, abolishing certain offices in the Court of Exchequer, the Chief Justices in Eyre, the clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal, and the offices in Scotland and Ireland which had been specified as useless and expensive. The last of these measures enabled the Crown to grant pensions to a certain number of persons who had 'discharged high and efficient offices' in a faithful and meritorious manner, on their retirement from the public service; but the total amount of the pensions which the sovereign was empowered to grant was not to exceed one-half the sum which the abolished offices had cost. The reforms thus effected were of no small importance, both in an economical and moral point of view, and laid the foundation for other and much more important changes in the public service.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Repeal of the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Treaty with Spain for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Parliamentary Grant for the Building of New Churches—Reform of the Constitution of the Scotch Burghs—Allowances to Royal Dukes on their Marriage—The Alien Bill—Dissolution of Parliament.

THE Parliament commenced its sixth session on the 27th of January, 1818. The speech of the Prince Regent, which was read by Commission, after a cold and formal reference to the Princess Charlotte, proceeded to notice the improvement that had taken place in almost every branch of domestic industry, and alleged that the present state of public credit afforded abundant proof that the difficulties under which the country was labouring were chiefly to be ascribed to temporary causes. So important a change in the condition of the country, it was observed, 'could not fail to withdraw from the disaffected the principal means of which they had availed themselves for the purpose of fomenting a spirit of discontent, that unhappily led to acts of insubordination and treason.' 'And his Royal Highness,' it was added, 'entertains the most confident expectation that the state of peace and tranquillity to which the country is now restored will be maintained against all attempts to disturb it, by the persevering vigilance of the magistracy, and by the loyalty and good sense of the people.' A similar statement was made in the report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons. 'In the course of the autumn,' it said, 'a gradual reduction in the price of provisions, and still more, an increased demand for labour in consequence of a progressive improvement in the state of agriculture, as well as of trade and manufactures in some of their most important branches, afforded the means of subsistence and employment to numbers of those who had been taught to ascribe all the privations to which they were unfortunately

subjected to defects in the existing constitution.' Mr. Wyndham Quin, the seconder of the address in the Commons, said, 'the country feels an increased circulation in every artery, in every channel of its commerce. Last year the fires were extinguished in most of the ironworks; now they are in full activity, and the price of iron has risen from eight or nine to about fourteen pounds a ton. The demand for linen, the staple of the north of Ireland, is unprecedented both as to quantity and price. The funds are now 80; last year they were about 63. Money is most abundant, and when lent at mortgage on good security, lowering in rate of interest, and to be had at four and a-half per cent; at the same time that sales of land are effected at better prices than last year.' Mr. Ward, too (afterwards Lord Dudley), says, 'I have excellent accounts from Staffordshire. At one moment the iron trade was as brisk as ever, but since it has a little gone off; no distress, however.'

There was reason to fear, however, that this prosperity was not built on a stable foundation, and that in part, at least, it arose out of unhealthy speculation. The average of wheat, which at the end of September, 1817, had fallen from 11*s.* 6*d.* in June, to 7*s.* 4*d.*, by the close of the year had risen again to 8*s.* 4*d.* There was a great deal of speculation going on, not only in corn, but also in silk, wool, cotton, and other articles of foreign and colonial produce, and the imports had in consequence very largely increased. 'A state of prosperity,' says Mr. Tooke, 'it doubtless was as long as it lasted to those who were gain-

ing or appeared to be gaining by the rising markets; but to the bulk of the population these rising markets were the occasion of privation and suffering.' In the meantime, however, the increase in the price of labour and the diminution in the price of food removed one main cause of discontent among the working classes, and reconciled them somewhat to their situation.

There was no reference in the speech to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, or to the extraordinary powers intrusted to the Government. As soon as it was read, and before the address in answer could be moved, Lord Holland threatened to introduce a bill for the repeal of the Suspension Act, but was informed by the premier that a bill for that purpose would be brought in on the following day. The standing orders were immediately repealed, in order that the measure might pass without delay. It was read three times on the 28th, and next day it was brought down to the Commons, and there read three times and passed. 'Ministers,' says Romilly, 'were desirous that there should be no discussion on it, and in that wish the Opposition, in my opinion, not very wisely acquiesced. I took occasion, however,' he adds, 'to observe upon the conduct of Government, which had postponed the meeting of Parliament to so late a period, that it had been impossible to repeal the Act till after the time when the ministers themselves admitted that it had ceased to be necessary.' He declared his conviction that the suspension was a *most unnecessary and mischievous* measure, and his apprehension that it would be 'a most dangerous precedent.'

The Opposition, though they allowed the repeal of the obnoxious Act to pass without discussion, raised a debate on the address, in which they affirmed that the recent trials had furnished no evidence of the existence of any such treasonable conspiracy as the ministers had assumed. The Marquis of Lansdowne said, 'In the trials at Derby, where it was the business and the particular object of the Attorney-General to prove that

the discontented there had a correspondence with others in different quarters, he had completely failed. He could not prove that in any part of the country there had been the slightest connection with these conspirators. This terrible conspiracy, too, was suppressed without the slightest difficulty by eighteen dragoons!' No doubt the Derby insurgents had been justly convicted; but he went on to say, 'it was not the suspension of the Habeas Corpus that put down the insurrection or the conspiracy, whichever it might be called; it had been extinguished by the due administration of the law—by apprehending and bringing the persons accused to trial; and the same law could have been applied with equal efficiency though the Habeas Corpus had remained in force.' He affirmed that the riot was not of a political character; it had not sprung from hostility to the institutions of the country, but from 'partial discontent, with which the great body of the population of the place where it broke out were untainted. Even in the very villages through which the insurgents passed the people ran away from them, and in no part of the country was there any trace to be found of the existence of a conspiracy to alter the king's government.'

In the House of Commons Sir Samuel Romilly, who was conspicuous for his candour and moderation, maintained that the Derby insurgents, though they had committed a capital crime, were not guilty of treason. 'Brandreth,' he said, 'had committed a murder, and those who aided and abetted it were in law equally guilty. But in his conscience he believed from the information he had received that the whole of that insurrection was the work of the persons sent by the Government—not indeed for the specific purpose of fomenting disaffection, but as emissaries of sedition from clubs that had never existed. It had been declared that the prosecutions had been discontinued because everything was tranquil, and the ministers were willing to show their clemency. But if there had

been any truth in the statements of the atrocious crimes which these men meditated, were they persons to whom clemency ought to be shown? Were men conspiring to burn factories, to attack barracks, and create a revolution, to be discharged without a trial and without punishment? But though the country was so tranquil that it was deemed unnecessary to resort to the ordinary modes of legal trial and the alleged offenders were discharged, yet the persons against whom there had never been supposed to be evidence sufficient to put them upon their trials, those who had been arrested under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, were kept in prison; so that those against whom the strongest case was made out were discharged, those against whom the case was weakest were kept in confinement.' After commenting on the proceedings in Scotland and the Derby insurrection, Sir Samuel put strongly the fact that the ministers had previous information of Brandreth's designs, yet they did not seize him. He was suffered to go on till he had effected all the mischief in his power, and the only use proposed to be made of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus was not made of it. With regard to the prosecution of Hone, 'if the prosecutions were not vindictive, why were they undertaken? The publications themselves were stopped before the Attorney-General attempted to suppress them; but this injudicious attempt brought them again into public notice and gave them infinitely greater currency than they would have obtained in their original state, with a great mass of concealed, forgotten, and unknown parodies attached to them. The least criminal of the parodies was the last prosecuted, and the prosecution was persevered in after a double failure, because the Attorney-General thought it would have manifested weakness in himself to have relinquished it.'

As soon as the repeal of the Suspension Act had taken place, the ministers took steps to justify their conduct in the mode of employing the extraordinary powers

which that act had conferred upon them. In the beginning of February, certain papers relating to the state of the country, sealed up in green bags, were, by the command of the Prince Regent, presented to both Houses of Parliament, and were again referred to secret committees. Before the end of the month, both committees reported upon the documents submitted to them. As the members of both had been appointed by the Government, and most of them had constituted the committees of the previous session, they of course concurred with the ministers in the view which they gave of public affairs, and in their approbation of the steps which had been taken for the suppression of the disturbances. Indeed, the Peers by a majority refused to refer to the committees any of the numerous petitions from persons who complained that they had been aggrieved by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. The Lords affirmed that a general rising had been intended, and the day fixed on which it was to take place; but the execution of the 'desperate designs' of the conspirators had been 'thwarted by the vigilance of the Government, the great activity and intelligence of the magistrates, the ready assistance afforded under their orders by the regular troops and yeomanry, the prompt and efficient arrangements of the officers intrusted with that service, the knowledge which had from time to time been obtained of the plans of the disaffected, and the consequent arrest and confinement of the agitators.' With reference to the Derbyshire insurgents, it was stated that they 'were not formidable for their numbers; but they were actuated by an atrocious spirit, and the language used by many of them, and particularly by their leaders, left no reason to doubt that their object was the overthrow of the established government and laws, extravagant as these objects were when compared with the inadequate means which they possessed.' It was admitted that 'in the villages through which they passed a strong indisposition was

manifested towards their cause and projects,' and the insurrection was characterized as 'of small importance in itself.' 'Not only in the country in general,' it was added, 'but in those districts where the designs of the disaffected were most actively and unremittingly pursued, the great body of the people have remained untainted even during the periods of the greatest internal difficulty and distress.'

The report then proceeded to notice the arrests that had taken place during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was deemed unnecessary to say anything respecting those persons against whom bills of indictment had been found by grand juries, and of those who had been brought to trial or had fled from justice. But warrants had been issued by the Secretary of State against ten persons who had not been taken, and against forty-four others who had not been brought to trial. Of these seven had been discharged on examination. Against thirty-seven warrants of detention had been issued on suspicion of treason. One had been released after being finally committed, another had been discharged on account of illness; a third had died in prison. It appeared to the committee that 'all these arrests and detentions were fully justified by the circumstances under which they had taken place.' 'Up to a certain period, expectations were entertained of being able to bring to trial a large proportion of the persons so arrested and detained; but these expectations have from time to time been unavoidably relinquished.' In conclusion, the report declared that it had appeared to the committee that the Government, in the execution of the powers vested in them, had acted with due discretion and moderation.

The report of the Commons went over the same ground, and referred in similar terms to the Derbyshire insurrection and to the movements near Nottingham and in Yorkshire. 'In adverting,' they said, 'to the state of the metropolis during the same period, they have observed with concern

that a small number of active and infatuated individuals have been unremittingly engaged in arranging plans of insurrection, in endeavouring to foment disturbances that might lead to it, and in procuring the means of active operations, with the ultimate view of subverting all the existing institutions of the country, and substituting some form of revolutionary government in their stead.' It was admitted, however, that they had made few proselytes, and that none of these belonged to the higher classes of society. Like the Lords, the committee of the Commons applauded the temperate and judicious manner in which the Ministry had executed the extraordinary powers intrusted to them, but expressed it as their opinion that the vigilance of the police and the watchful care of the Government would probably be sufficient, under present circumstances, to prevent any serious disturbance of the public peace.

These reports of the secret committees of the two Houses were intended to pave the way for measures to protect the Government and the magistrates from proceedings that might be taken against them, for the illegal acts they had committed in suppressing the recent disturbances. Accordingly, on the 25th of February, a bill was introduced into the Upper House by the Duke of Montrose, entitled a 'Bill for indemnifying persons who, since the 26th of January, 1817, have acted in apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody persons suspected of high treason or treasonable practices, and in the suppression of tumultuous and unlawful assemblies.' The bill was resisted at every stage by the Opposition in both Houses, who argued that, if the Ministry had been guilty of illegal and oppressive practices for which they needed to be indemnified, then the reports of the secret committees, which asserted that they had acted with moderation, must be untrue. If, on the other hand, they had so acted, and had kept within their powers, they did not require an indemnity. The defence of the measure in the Upper House mainly

devolved upon the Premier and the Lord Chancellor, who found it no easy matter to hold their ground against the powerful attacks of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earls of Lauderdale and Rosslyn, and Lords Erskine, Holland, and King. But all the amendments proposed by the latter were rejected by large majorities. The second reading of the bill was carried on the 27th of February by 100 votes to 33, and the third reading, on the 5th of March, by a majority of 93 to 27. A strong protest was entered on the Journals of the House, signed by five peers, embodying a summary of the arguments against the bill which had been employed in the debate. It was urged that it was now evident that there had been no such wide-spread treasonable conspiracy as had been alleged, and not even any extensive disaffection to the Government; that a vigorous exercise of the ordinary laws of the country would have been quite sufficient to repress disturbances and restore tranquillity; that the Suspension Act merely authorized the detention of persons accused, and was not intended to indemnify ministers for arrests made on mere suspicion, and for the numerous cases in which suspected individuals, against whom no evidence was ever produced, were subjected to long and severe imprisonments; that the bill protected unwarrantable and malicious, as well as justifiable proceedings, and that it sanctioned not the occasional resort in cases of necessity to secret means of obtaining evidence, but the systematic encouragement given to spies and informers.

In the Commons an equally strenuous opposition was offered to the Indemnity Bill, but with the same result. The first reading of the bill was carried on the 9th of March by a majority of 190 to 64; the second reading on the 16th by 89 to 24; and the third reading on the 13th by 82 to 23. The debates on the measure were both keen and protracted, and it was during the discussion on the motion for going into committee that Canning referring to one of the persons (a man of seventy-four years of

age), who had been imprisoned while suffering from rupture, termed him the 'revered and ruptured Ogden.' This expression, which was an offence equally against good taste and good feeling, raised a great clamour, and was long kept up against the brilliant but not always prudent orator. The most powerful speeches made against the bill were those of Mr. Lambton (afterwards Earl of Durham), Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Brougham. Romilly denounced it as a most objectionable and dangerous measure. It was improperly called a Bill of Indemnity, he said; 'the object of indemnity was only to protect individuals from public prosecutions, without interfering with the rights of private men; but the object of this bill was to annihilate such rights. Its true description was a bill to take away all legal remedies from those who had suffered from an illegal and arbitrary exercise of authority, and to punish those who presumed to have recourse to such remedies by subjecting them to the payment of double costs.'

Sir Samuel went on to argue that ministers required no indemnity for the exercise of powers granted by Parliament, and that if they were now to be indemnified it must be for conduct which the Suspension Act did not authorize, not for detaining men in custody under that law, but for committing them to prison against all law. 'With regard to another object of the bill, the indemnifying of the magistrates for illegal acts of power committed by them, it was most dangerous by such a bill to inform magistrates that whenever the Habeas Corpus was suspended they might exercise what acts of authority they thought would be most agreeable to ministers, and that everything would be covered by an indemnity. The petitions on the table furnished evidence how grossly the law might be violated where there seemed some invitation to it by ministers.' After a scathing exposure of the practices of Castles, Oliver, and other spies employed by ministers, Sir Samuel concluded with the following

appeal.—‘That this example may appear with greater force to future times our journals will preserve that long detail of multiplied sufferings which are enumerated in the various petitions that have been presented to us, and with them the record of our having twice refused to institute any inquiry into the truth of them. When those who are to come after us shall suffer under the evils we are now inflicting upon them, when their liberties shall be violated after the example which we are establishing, and they shall reflect with bitterness on the memories of those who have been the authors of all their wrongs, it is at least some consolation to us to reflect that it will be remembered that there was a small number of members of this House who endeavoured to avert this evil; who, though overpowered by numbers, and discouraged by the triumph of a confident majority, yet made the best stand they could in defence of the constitution, the laws, and the liberties which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors; and who feel more satisfaction in having thus discharged their duty, though without success, than their opponents can derive from the victory they have gained.’

The prognostications of the great lawyer have fortunately not been fulfilled. No Government since his day has ever ventured to suspend the Habeas Corpus in Great Britain.

The Opposition did not confine their attacks upon the Government to the discussions on the Address and the Indemnity Bill. Mr. William Smith brought Hone’s three trials and the general question of informations *ex-officio* before the House of Commons on the 3rd of February. A week later Lord Archibald Hamilton proposed a motion on the subject of the political prosecutions in Scotland, which was ably supported by Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. J. P. Grant. On the following day a spirited debate took place on a motion of Mr. Fazakerley, ‘That it be an instruction to the secret committee to inquire and report whether any steps had been taken

to detect and punish the spies employed by ministers, who by their conduct had encouraged the evils they were only to detect.’ The motion was supported by Lord Milton, Mr. Bennet, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Tierney, who brought out clearly the nature and extent of the proceedings of Oliver and the other spies in encouraging secret designs and fomenting public disturbances; but it was rejected by 111 votes to 52. Wilberforce, however, though he opposed the motion, expressed his strong disapprobation of the employment of spies in any circumstances. Among the most prominent opponents of the Ministry at this period, and their suspension of the Habeas Corpus, was Viscount Folkestone, eldest son of the Earl of Radnor. The connections and accomplishments of this young, handsome, and high-spirited politician, of themselves gave him considerable position in the House, which was further heightened by his refined taste and cultivated mind, and his honest, conscientious, and fearless spirit. Though his father was a decided Tory of the old school, and his mother a personal friend and at one time in the household of Queen Charlotte, he took a prominent part against the Duke of York in the Clarke and Wardle case. His thoughtful critical turn of mind made him distrust the commonly received maxims of government, and always disposed him to side with the minority. Oppression in any form or place he could not endure, and he espoused the interests of the natives in India and of the lower classes at home with the same chivalrous warmth. It was natural that a person of Lord Folkestone’s character should regard with great indignation the conduct of the Government in connection with the suspension of the Habeas Corpus; and on the 17th of February he moved the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the petitions of persons complaining of the hardships they had suffered by imprisonment during the late suspension of the Habeas Corpus. But his motion was rejected on a division by a



majority of 167 to 58; and a similar motion in the House of Lords by the Earl of Carnarvon was negatived without a division. The proceedings of the Government spies and informers were once more brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. G. Philips, who moved that it was the duty of the House to investigate the nature and extent of the practices alleged, in certain petitions presented to the House, to have been pursued by Oliver and others; but the motion obtained only 69 votes against 162. This obstinate refusal of the Government to allow any inquiry into this subject was undoubtedly one main ground of the impression which prevailed respecting the complicity of the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, in the nefarious practices of the agents whom he had employed to detect treasonable conspiracies. The moderate and sensible opinion expressed respecting the conduct of the Ministry by Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby), was regarded by judicious and candid persons of both parties as just and correct. 'He should support the motion,' he said, 'but not on the ground that ministers were guilty of employing spies for the purpose of fomenting disturbances in the country. His belief was that Oliver and others had been solely employed to discover what was doing in the disturbed districts. Where blame was fairly to be cast on ministers was, he thought, in the manner in which those spies were chosen. Though ministers did not warrant the fomenting of disturbances, yet they left it in the power of those acting under them to do so. He thought ministers had been much calumniated; but they would be most so by themselves if they refused to inquire into those acts when inquiry, according to their own statement, would fully acquit them of the charges laid against them.'

A much more agreeable subject was brought before the House of Commons in the treaty with Spain for the abolition of the slave trade, carried on by the subjects

of that country. The British Government had been induced by the urgent solicitations of Wilberforce, supported by the pressure of public opinion, to use their influence with the Continental powers at the Congress of Vienna to suppress this vile traffic. Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France had readily complied with the request made by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, the representatives of a Government to which they were so deeply indebted. But Spain, though professing her willingness to abolish the slave trade, wished delay, on the plea that her subjects had embarked a large capital in that traffic, and would suffer serious losses if it were suddenly abolished. An offer was made to her by Britain of the sum of £850,000, together with a loan of ten million of dollars, if she would consent to immediate abolition; but this exceedingly liberal offer was refused. The reiterated representations of the British Government, however, at length opened the eyes of the purblind and sluggish court of Madrid to the necessity of taking some steps to avert the moral indignation of Europe on account of their persistence in this inhuman traffic, and they at last agreed (September 23, 1817) to a treaty which made it illegal for Spanish ships from the date of the treaty to carry on the slave trade on any part of the coast of Africa to the north of the equator, and bound them to abolish the trade entirely from May 30, 1820. As a guarantee for the fulfilment of the treaty the right of search was conceded, under certain regulations. But by way of compensation for this act of justice and common humanity, Spain was to receive the sum of £400,000 from the British Government. This generous arrangement was warmly commended, not only by Mr. Wilberforce, but by Sir James Mackintosh and other leading Whigs, and was also cordially approved by public opinion. Unfortunately the treaty was systematically evaded by the Spanish court, according to its usual practice, and was productive of very little good.

Another act of generosity at this time

on the part of the Government, though it met with no opposition, would not receive the approbation of all classes and parties at the present day—the proposal that a grant of a million should be made from the Treasury for the purpose of building new churches. In the speech read by the Lords Commissioners at the opening of Parliament, it was stated that ‘the Prince Regent has commanded us to direct your particular attention to the deficiency which has so long existed in the number of places of public worship belonging to the Established Church when compared with the increasing and increased population of the country.’ There could be no doubt of the fact that there was a great deficiency of church accommodation, not only in the large towns, but even in many of the rural parishes. In the diocese of London, there were eighty parishes containing in the aggregate 930,337 inhabitants, giving an average of 11,629 to each parish, in which the places of worship were not sufficient to contain one-half of the people. In the see of Winchester the average was 8789 to a parish, and in that of Chester 8195, with a similar deficiency of church accommodation. There were parishes containing 4000 inhabitants and upwards, having an aggregate population of 2,947,698 souls, and they had only church room for 419,193 persons, or for one person in every seven. The state of matters was not much better even in the smaller parishes. A list of these was given whose population exceeded 2000 persons, containing 4,659,786 people, with church room for 949,222—that is, for only one person in every five. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after giving statistics of the deficient church accommodation in these districts, proposed that a grant of £1,000,000 sterling, raised by an issue of exchequer bills, should be applied, under the direction of commissioners appointed by the Crown, to the erection of parochial churches. It was true, he said, that ‘in these estimates he had made no allowance for those members of the community who did not belong to

the Established Church; for without meaning the least disparagement to the Dissenters, he thought that the Church, which existed for the benefit of all, and derived support from all, was bound to afford accommodation to all.’ The resolution was unanimously agreed to, for at this period no member of either party seems to have doubted the propriety of making provision out of the funds of the State for the supply of the accommodation required by the Church. On this point, as on many others, a great change has taken place in public opinion; for whatever difference of sentiment may still exist as to the justice and expediency of a church establishment, no application has for many years been made to Parliament for a grant of public money for the erection of additional places of worship in connection with the Established Church, either of England or Scotland.

A question was brought forward this session of great importance and interest to the people of Scotland—the reform of the constitution of the burghs, which had remained unchanged and unimproved for several centuries. The retiring councillors were intrusted with the power, at the end of each year, of electing their successors; and they almost always either re-elected themselves or persons of their own party, who, at the end of another twelve months, by a well-understood arrangement, gave way in turn to their predecessors. The great body of the inhabitants of a burgh had, in consequence, no voice in the election of their magistrates, and no control over their proceedings. As might have been expected at a time when public opinion could scarcely be said to exist in Scotland, these municipal corporations were nests of jobbery and corruption. The burgh property was, in nearly all cases, squandered in the most extravagant and shameless manner; the town councils of several of the most populous burghs were bankrupt; and most of them were in pecuniary difficulties. So far back as the year 1785, the subject of burgh reform was keenly

agitated in Scotland; but every proposed change in the system was resisted with the utmost vehemence. The American war and the protracted continental struggle diverted public attention, for a season, from this and all other questions of domestic policy; but on the return of peace the former agitation was renewed, mainly in consequence of a singular accident which befell the burgh of Montrose. It appears that certain irregularities had taken place in the election of the magistrates for that town in the year 1817, and an appeal was made to the Court of Session to set aside the election on that ground. The suit was successful. The election was declared null and void, and in consequence the burgh, in its corporate capacity, became extinct, and was left, not only without a town council, but without any means of obtaining one. In these circumstances, application was made to the king in council to revive the functions of the corporation; and the Crown, instead of reviving the old constitution, was induced to comply with the petition of the inhabitants, and to issue what was called a 'poll-warrant,' that is, a warrant to elect the magistrates addressed to the burgesses at large, and to make a change in the 'set' or constitution of the burgh. The subject was brought before the House of Commons by Lord Archibald Hamilton, brother of the premier duke of Scotland. His lofty spirit and disinterested character, combined with his birth and rank, manly beauty, and noble demeanour, gave him great influence in the House of Commons; though reserve, if not pride, and the infirmity of increasing deafness, made him too exclusive to be popular. 'He was too punctilious for my taste,' wrote Mr. Abercromby; 'but I venerated him as a man of the soundest and steadiest public principles, and a thoroughly high-minded gentleman. In both these relations he was scrupulously correct, and commanded as much general respect as any statesman of his day.' Lord Archibald Hamilton argued that the proceeding referred to was a

usurpation of an illegal power. The Crown was right, he admitted, in reviving the lapsed power of election; but he contended that if any change was to be made in the burgh itself, it ought to be made by Parliament, and not by the mere will of the Crown, or rather of the ministers. He could find no legal authority in Scotland, he said, living or dead, that would sanction this extraordinary power which had been exercised by the Crown, in altering the constitution of a burgh in such a way as materially to affect the representation in the House of Commons; for this act had constituted new offices, to which the right of voting for a member of parliament was attached. It was no argument, he contended, in favour of the proceedings to say that the new set granted to Montrose was superior to the old one. If the Crown, on its own specific authority, could give a constitution better and more enlarged than that which originally existed, it might, under the same power or assumption of power, give one worse and more contracted. Thus the form, if not the existence, of all the other Scottish burghs was dependent upon the mere will of the Crown, or rather upon the will and caprice of its ministers. There was a society in Scotland called the 'Convention of Burghs,' which claimed the power by law, and certainly had in fact exercised it, of altering the constitution of several burghs. Now, if the convention had such a right, and if His Majesty's Government had also the same right, to which of these authorities must the burghs submit? Many of the burghs of Scotland were at this moment so overwhelmed with debt that little or no revenue remained to meet their current expenditure; and the burgesses felt considerable alarm for their own individual and private property, as it had been affirmed, on high legal authority, that the inhabitants were liable for the debts of the town council. The views expressed by Lord Archibald Hamilton were vigorously supported by Mr. Abercromby (afterwards Speaker of the

House of Commons and Lord Dunfermline) and by Sir R. Ferguson. Lord Castlereagh and the Lord-Advocate, who defended the action of the Government, were hampered by their knowledge that the members of their party in Scotland entirely disapproved of their procedure in granting a more liberal constitution to Montrose. Lord Castlereagh admitted that there was a defect in the law of Scotland with respect to burghs, since the burgesses had no power at present to take cognizance of their pecuniary affairs, or to exercise any control over the administration of their funds. But to confer on the burgesses the right to elect their magistrates could not, he affirmed, be of any practical benefit, except with a view to a reform in Parliament. The Lord-Advocate admitted that an opinion had been given by counsel that the inhabitants were liable for the debts of the burgh; but he pleaded that no legal proceedings had ever been undertaken to carry these opinions into effect, and he contended that the power which the Crown had exercised was virtually recognized in the 'Declaration of Grievances.' The Government, however, he said, had no intention of sanctioning a similar alteration in every borough which, by neglect, might become disfranchised.

A declaration to this effect was, indeed, necessary to calm the fears which the procedure of the Ministry had excited in the minds of their supporters in Scotland. The example of a popular election of a town council in Montrose had stimulated the inhabitants of other Scottish burghs to claim a similar privilege; and legal ingenuity was set to work in trying to discover a flaw 'in the rather nice and technical mysteries of a town council election,' in the hope that if the existing 'set' or constitution could be set aside, they, too, would obtain the privilege of electing an independent magistracy. Meetings of the burgesses and inhabitants were held in all the large towns, and in many of the smaller burghs also, to agitate for this much needed reform. The excitement was greatly increased by the

bankruptcy of the burgh of Aberdeen, which took place at this time, with liabilities to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds. The magistrates accompanied the announcement of this state of affairs with an address, in which they declared it to be their decided opinion that the existing mode of electing the town council and of managing the affairs of the burgh were 'radically defective and improvident, tending to give to particular individuals or parties an excessive and unnatural preponderance, and to foster and encourage a system of secrecy and concealment, under which the best-intentioned magistrates might be prevented from acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the true situation of the burgh.' A similar acknowledgment was soon after publicly and formally made by the town council of Dundee, though the pecuniary affairs of that burgh had not been so grossly mismanaged as those of Aberdeen. There was good reason to believe that the town council of Edinburgh, also, was in a state of bankruptcy, though a good many years elapsed before the fact was admitted.

In the hope that a change might be effected in the constitution of these and some other burghs, several complaints of illegal election were brought before the Court of Session. One of these, which was directed against the town council of Edinburgh, attracted a great deal of attention, and led to an angry controversy. It failed, however, and only two of these actions—viz., those from Aberdeen and Inverness—were successful. But the Government had by this time become aware of the offence which they had given to their supporters in Scotland, and the danger to which their supremacy in the burgh constituencies was exposed by the sanction they had given to the popular election of a town council in Montrose. They resolved, therefore, that they would grant no more poll-warrants, but adopted the scheme of restoring lapsed councils by warrants addressed to the members of the council who had been last

duly elected. This inconsistent procedure led to a great deal of costly and angry litigation. The burgesses, on the one hand, challenged the right of the Crown to grant any other than poll-warrants; and the Officers of State, on the other hand, challenged its right to grant these. 'The Court of Session,' says Lord Cockburn, 'was not supposed to have gained credit under these discussions. Instead of applying a severe candour and a more strictly judicial calmness to questions plainly involving party passions, it was allowed to transpire too obviously through the tone and manner of most of the judges, that they were neither ignorant of the objects of the litigants nor indifferent about the results.' It was, indeed, a notorious as well as a most reprehensible fact, that at the close of the last century and the early portion of the present, the judges of the Court of Session were, with few exceptions, violent political partizans; and it was well known that these political opinions of the judges not unfrequently exercised a powerful influence on their judicial decisions.

The lamented death of the Princess Charlotte had the effect of directing public attention to the unsatisfactory position of the royal family, more especially with reference to the succession to the crown. Queen Charlotte had borne fifteen children to George III., twelve of whom were still alive; but none of them had any legitimate issue. The Duke of York was married to the Princess of Prussia in 1792, but he had no children. The Duke of Cumberland had married in 1815 a daughter of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and niece to Queen Charlotte, who had been twice married before her union to the duke; first to the Prince of Prussia, and secondly to the Prince of Solms-Braunfels, from whom she had been divorced. The Prince Regent and three of his brothers countenanced the marriage by their presence at the ceremony; but the Queen firmly refused either to attend the wedding or to receive her niece, and public opinion cordially

approved of her refusal. The Duke of Cumberland, who had himself led a not very reputable life, was universally unpopular, and the prospect of a child of his succeeding to the throne was exceedingly repugnant to the feelings of all classes of the community. The Duke of Sussex had married in 1793 Lady Augusta Murray, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore, a lady of high character, who bore him a son and a daughter; but as the consent of the King had not been obtained, the marriage was declared invalid. The Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, were unmarried, and were all three advanced in life. So long as the Princess Charlotte lived they appeared quite contented to continue in the enjoyment of their own selfish pleasures, and their freedom from legitimate domestic responsibilities; but as soon as her death opened the prospect of succession to the throne, which might descend to their children, the three royal dukes hastened to enter into negotiations for marriage, with the additional stimulus of an expected increase to the incomes that had been granted them by Parliament.

The matrimonial projects of his brothers were brought under the notice of Parliament about the middle of April by successive messages from the Prince Regent, along with a recommendation that 'a suitable provision should be made for such of them as should contract marriage with the consent of the Crown'—terms which were clearly intended to exclude the Duke of Sussex and to include the Duke of Cumberland. Previous to this, however, private negotiations had been carried on with the Government respecting the additions that were to be made to the incomes of the royal dukes. The Duke of Clarence received annually £20,500 from the consolidated fund, which he wished to have raised to £40,000, besides £1095 as Admiral of the Fleet, and £187 as Ranger of Bushy Park. The Duke of Kent had an income of £25,205, £7205 of which was derived from his office of governor of Gibraltar,

and his colonelcy of a foot regiment. The Duke of Cambridge received £882 15s. as colonel of the Coldstream Guards, and £18,000 from the consolidated fund. The two brothers asked each an addition of £12,000 a year to their incomes. But it was discovered at the time that the five royal princes had previously obtained a grant of £20,000 from the Admiralty Droits; that the Duke of Clarence had in addition received a loan of £20,000, of which only £3000 had been repaid; and that the sum of £6000 had been advanced to the Duke of Kent, who had paid back only two instalments of £500 each. In these circumstances Lord Liverpool had misgivings as to the reception which the demands of the royal dukes were likely to meet with from Parliament, and he took the precaution to explain them to a private meeting, held at his own residence, of about seventy of his most influential supporters. His proposals were received in a manner which clearly indicated the reception they were certain to meet with from the House of Commons—'Nobody said a word, but everybody rose up and went away.' The royal family received among them at this time from the public purse no less a sum than £1,373,000, and even the most steadfast friends of the Court and the Government shrunk from an attempt, in the existing circumstances of the country, to add an annual sum of £55,500 to the public burdens. The Ministry saw that it was hopeless to attempt to carry their proposals in the face of the strong disapprobation of their own supporters, and they had to submit to the necessity of considerably modifying their terms. Instead of £19,500 they proposed an addition of only £10,000 to the income of the Duke of Clarence, and of £6000 instead of £12,000 to the Dukes of Kent, Cambridge, and Cumberland. But even these modified proposals met with the most strenuous opposition.

On April 15 Lord Castlereagh moved a resolution to the effect that an additional yearly sum, not exceeding £10,000, should

be paid out of the consolidated fund 'to make a suitable provision for the Duke of Clarence upon his marriage.' His lordship contended, amid marked tokens of disapprobation, that nothing should be deducted from the incomes of their Royal Highnesses on account of the sums which they derived from other sources. Mr. Canning, in supporting the motion, observed that in voting for this sum 'they would vote only for one half of the sum originally proposed—a sum the propriety of which both his noble friend thought, and himself then and still thought, maintainable by fair argument, but which they had no hesitation in surrendering to the expressed opinion of that House.' The opponents to the grant were not, however, conciliated. Mr. Holme Sumner, Tory member for Surrey, moved that the amount proposed should be reduced to £6000, and expressed explicitly his opinion that before any increase was granted, it ought to be ascertained that the money would be available for the purpose for which it was given. Mr. Sumner's motion was carried by a majority of 193 to 184. 'The result was received with loud shouts of approbation,' amidst which Lord Castlereagh rose and observed that, since the House had thought proper to refuse the larger sum to the Duke of Clarence, he believed he might say that the negotiation for the marriage might be considered at an end. The Duke was indeed bitterly mortified at this defeat, and intimated to the House of Commons next day through Lord Castlereagh, 'that he declined to accept the inadequate sum which had been voted to him.' He shortly afterwards, however, thought better of it, and finding that nothing more could be got, he accepted the allowance along with the arrears. He was probably somewhat reconciled to the reduction by his successful attempt to provide for his illegitimate daughters at the public expense. On the 9th of September, 1818, he obtained for them a pension of £2500 a year out of the 4½ per cent. West India duties.

The proposal to grant an additional

£6000 a year to the Duke of Cambridge was carried, after a lengthened debate, by a majority of 177 to 95. The Duke of Kent was by far the most popular of the royal brothers, and the fact that he was about to marry the sister of Prince Leopold was a powerful recommendation in his favour. And yet the grant of an additional £6000 a year even to him was resisted by fifty-one members, among whom were Lords Althorp and Folkestone, Mr. Coke of Holkham, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Tierney, though 205 voted in its favour.

The proposal, however, to make a similar provision for the Duke of Cumberland met with the most determined opposition, both from Tories and Whigs. The personal character of his Royal Highness, the circumstances of his marriage, and his violent and extreme political opinions, combined to render him an object of strong dislike to both parties, and to all classes. At the time of his marriage, in 1815, the Ministers proposed that an addition of £6000 a year should be made to his income; but the proposal gave rise to a keen debate, in which his Royal Highness was very roughly handled. What services had he ever rendered to the country, it was asked, to entitle him to such a grant? and an appeal was made to the public voice for the truth of the assertion, that 'of all the branches of the royal family the Duke of Cumberland was the one to whom the public feeling would be least inclined to grant any pecuniary boon.' The bill was vehemently opposed at every stage by formidable minorities, and thrown out on the second reading by 126 votes to 125. The duke fancied that now when his brothers were to receive an addition to their incomes, a similar boon might be conferred upon him; but it soon appeared that his unpopularity was in no degree abated. After a warm discussion the motion was negatived by a majority of 143 to 136, and 'loud cheering took place in the House when the result of the division was known.'

The public were a good deal surprised to learn that the marriage of the Duke of

Clarence was to take place after all. On the 13th of July he wedded the Princess Adelaide, eldest daughter of the late Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, and on the same day the Duke of Kent was married to Victoria, a Princess of Saxe Coburg, and widow of the Prince of Leiningen. The marriage of the Duke of Cambridge to Augusta, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, had taken place previously on the 1st of June. The royal brides had certainly not been chosen for their personal attractions; but they all filled in a dignified and creditable manner the elevated position in which they were placed. They all bore children to their husbands, but the two daughters of the Duchess of Clarence died in infancy. The only son of the Duchess of Cumberland became King of Hanover; the only son of the Duchess of Cambridge is the present Commander-in-chief of the British army; while the only child of the Duchess of Kent now holds the sceptre of the British empire, and her reign has more than fulfilled the high expectations that were cherished as to the benefits which would have flowed to the nation had the Princess Charlotte succeeded to the throne.

Efforts were made by various members of the Lower House to remedy several of the grievances of which the public complained, namely, the abolition of the salt duties, of the tax on leather, and of the Irish window tax, the abolition of the Scottish commissary courts, of the punishment of death for the crime of privately stealing in shops, and of parliamentary rewards given on conviction of certain offenders, and the amendment of the law of tithes and of poor-law settlements; but they were all defeated by the ministerial majority. The proposal to renew the Alien Act led to protracted and keen discussions, though the efforts made by Sir Samuel Romilly and others to limit the scope of the measure proved unsuccessful. During the continuance of the continental war the ministers were empowered by the legislature to expel from the country aliens who

were regarded by them as dangerous, or were objects of suspicion. The power to take this step had been repeatedly renewed for periods of two years at a time. At its last renewal in 1816, however, it was strenuously opposed by the Whig members of parliament. In 1818, when it was again proposed to renew the Alien Act for other two years, the Opposition were still more energetic and persevering in their efforts to defeat the measure, and resisted even its introduction. When Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in the Continuance Bill, Lord Althorp opposed the motion, and was supported by Sir Samuel Romilly, who denounced it in indignant terms, and declared that it proceeded upon the principle that the Government of Great Britain was to minister to the wishes of the despots of Europe. Every man, no matter of what country or creed, had always looked in his distress to England for an asylum. But now, instead of being an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, England was to be turned into a sort of depot for the persecuted, whence their tyrants might have them brought back at will. The bill was resisted, not only at its introduction, but at every subsequent stage. The efforts of its opponents, however, either to throw out the obnoxious measure or amend it in committee, were defeated by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament; and so determined were the Ministry to carry the bill as they had passed it, that they doggedly refused to exempt from its operation even the aliens who were resident in the United Kingdom on the 1st of January, 1814, who had continued to reside in it since that period, and had been married to natural-born subjects of the realm. When the bill had reached the House of Lords, the ministers accidentally discovered that, by an act of the Scottish Parliament, passed in 1795, all foreigners who possessed a certain amount of stock in the Bank of Scotland became naturalized subjects; and they learned that a good many foreigners had recently made pur-

chases of this stock. They therefore added a clause to the bill, declaring that no foreigner who had purchased such stock since the 28th of October last, or who should in future do so, should thereby be naturalized. The clause was stoutly resisted by the Opposition, but was carried in committee by a majority of 42 to 20. A petition was presented from the persons whose rights were injuriously affected by this hasty *ex post facto* legislation, praying to be heard by counsel against the retrospective clause; but this most reasonable request was refused after another division. The standing orders were next suspended after three more divisions, and the bill, with the added clause, was the same day read a third time and passed. When it was sent down again to the House of Commons, a petition was presented against the disqualifying clause by the persons whose interests were affected by it, which would, no doubt, have been again summarily set aside; but it was met by a more formidable objection, founded upon the privileges of the House. Sir Samuel Romilly opposed it, he says, as being unjust towards the persons who, on the faith of a Scottish act of Parliament, confirmed by five different British statutes since the Union, had invested their money in the purchase of stock, and were to be thus violently deprived of the advantages which had induced them to make the purchase; as being an *ex post facto* law, and therefore repugnant to all true principles of legislation; and as being contrary to all parliamentary usage, and in substance a tacking by the Lords of a new and distinct bill to that which the Commons had sent up to them. To a bill to *continue* the existing law, the Lords had added, in the form of a clause, a bill to *repeal* an existing law; and by merely adding it as a clause, they allow of only one question being put upon it in the Commons, and deprive them of the several opportunities which they would have had of considering it in its different stages, if it had come down to them in the form of a bill. In addition to



these objections, Sir Samuel pointed out that the amendment was one which the Commons could not agree to without giving up one of their most important privileges—that of originating money bills. The effect of the clause introduced by the Lords was to subject all the individuals whom it denaturalized to the charged duties on aliens, and, if any of them had purchased estates, to have their lands forfeited to the Crown as the property of aliens. This objection proved fatal to the clause. One privilege which a naturalized foreigner acquired was the right to import goods into the country at lower rates of duty than foreigners who were aliens. The clause, therefore, which deprived them of this privilege was in effect a money clause, which could not be legally inserted in the bill by the Lords. This objection was fatal to the amendment, as the Speaker, on being appealed to, at once admitted. The House of Commons, as Mr. Walpole remarks, had ‘very little sympathy for the unfortunate foreigners; but they had a great respect for their own privileges.’ They decided not to agree to the clause, and the Ministry were obliged to give way. In order to cover their defeat, they resolved to introduce a new bill to supply the place of the rejected clause. It was much less objectionable, however, than the previous proposal. It was not retrospective, as the clause had been, but only prospective; and it was to last for little more than nine months, instead of two years. The Opposition made an attempt to prevent even this limited measure from coming so speedily into operation, but it was hurried through all its stages in both Houses of Parliament on the 8th and 9th of June, and on the following day the Parliament was dissolved by the Prince Regent without any previous prorogation—a step which excited much surprise and unfavourable comment, as it had not been taken since 1681, when Charles II. suddenly dissolved his fifth parliament, after it had sat only a week.

The Prince Regent himself had certainly

no reason to find fault with the Parliament which was dissolved on the 10th of June, 1818; but it was a most unpopular assembly in the estimation of the country, and had towards the close of its existence fallen almost into general contempt. The measures which it had sanctioned would now-a-days be regarded with universal and strong disapprobation. Sir Samuel Romilly, who was at no time a person of extreme views, and if he had lived in the present day would have been regarded as a very moderate Whig, a few hours before the termination of its political existence, summed up in severe and dark colours, and with judicial accuracy and solemnity, the principal misdeeds of the expiring Parliament—

‘Let us recollect,’ he said, ‘for what deeds we have to account. Let us recollect that we are the Parliament which, for the first time in the history of this country, have suspended the Habeas Corpus Act in a period of profound peace. Let us recollect that we are the confiding Parliament which intrusted His Majesty’s Ministers with the authority emanating from that suspension, in expectation that, when it was no longer wanted, they would call Parliament together to surrender it into their hands—which those ministers did not do, although they subsequently acknowledged that the necessity for retaining that power had long ceased to exist. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which consented to indemnify His Majesty’s Ministers for the abuses and violations of the laws of which they had been guilty, in the exercise of the authority vested in them. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which refused to inquire into the grievances stated in the numerous petitions and memorials with which our table groaned; that we turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the oppressed; that we even amused ourselves with their sufferings. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which sanctioned the use of spies and informers by the British Government; debasing that Government, once so celebrated for good

faith and honour, into a condition lower in character than that of the ancient French police. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which sanctioned the issuing of a circular letter to the magistracy of the country, by a Secretary of State, urging them to hold persons to bail for libel, before an indictment was found. Let us recollect that we are the same Parliament which sanctioned the sending out of the opinion of the King's Attorney-General and the King's Solicitor-General as the law of the land. Let us recollect that we are

the same Parliament which sanctioned the shutting of the ports of this once hospitable nation to unfortunate foreigners, flying from persecution in their own country.

'This, sir, is what we have done; and we are about to crown all by the present most violent and most unjustifiable act. Who our successors may be I know not; but God grant that this country may never see another Parliament so regardless of the liberties and rights of the people, and of the principles of general justice, as this Parliament has been.'

## CHAPTER IX.

General Election—Gains of the Whig Party—Return of Sir Samuel Romilly for Westminster—His Death, and that of Warren Hastings, and of Sir Philip Francis.

THE general election of 1818 was contested with unusual keenness and acrimony on both sides. The unpopularity of the Ministry excited the hopes and stimulated the exertions of the Opposition, and they contested every seat where they had any apparent chance of success. The Government and the great borough-mongers held between them more than one-half of the entire seats in the House of Commons, so that there was no contest possible in a moiety of the constituencies; but there was no lack of candidates for the remainder. 'It is said,' wrote Charles Greville, Clerk of the Council, in his celebrated 'Diary,' 'that there will be a hundred contests, and that Government will lose twenty or thirty members.' There were, in fact, 115 contested elections, and the number would have been much greater but for the precarious health of the aged king, whose death, which might be soon expected, would necessarily cause another dissolution at no distant day. The gains to the Whig party in these elections were much larger than had been anticipated. In the rotten boroughs, of course, the weightiest purse carried the day; but the large towns and the most important and populous counties returned a strong body of Liberals. Lord Milton was returned for Yorkshire, Lord Lyttleton's son for Worcestershire, Paul Methuen for Wilts, Earl Gower and Mr. Littleton for Staffordshire, T. W. Beaumont for Northumberland, Coke of Holkham for Norfolk, Lord Althorp for North Hants, George Byng for Middlesex, Lord Stanley for Lancashire, the Hon. C. A. Pelham for Lincolnshire, E. B. Portman for Dorset, Lord Morpeth for Cumberland, Mr. Lambton for Durham county, Lord George

Cavendish for Derbyshire, the Marquis of Tavistock for Bedfordshire, and Viscount Ebrington for Devon. Whigs were returned also for Cambridgeshire, Bucks, Berks, Cheshire, Herts, Hereford, &c., and for Bristol and other large towns. The ministerial candidates were defeated in Southwark. The contest for the city of London terminated in the rejection of Sir William Curtis, a staunch ministerialist, who had represented the city for nearly thirty years, and the return of four Whigs, with Alderman Wood at their head, who had been the only Whig among the former members. Brougham made a vigorous attempt to wrest the county of Westmoreland from the Lowthers, who had long reigned supreme there. The late members, Viscount Lowther, Lord Lonsdale's eldest son, and his uncle, the Hon. Col. Lowther, offered themselves for re-election, and were supported by all the other large landed proprietors, with the exception of the earl of Thanet, who had inherited the estates of the ancient family of the Cliffords, now extinct in the male line. The independent candidate was vigorously supported by the smaller freeholders and the 'Statesmen,' who farmed their 'paternal acres.' But the whole official power of the county was unscrupulously put forth against him, and hundreds of 'faggot votes' were created on the Lowther estates while the election was proceeding; and though Brougham's speeches produced a great effect on the multitudes who assembled to hear the eloquent orator expose and denounce the thralldom in which the county had been held by one territorial magnate, and he was at the head of the poll on the evening of the first day, he was compelled to retire on the fourth day of the

contest, when he had polled only 889 votes against Colonel Lowther's 1157.

The contest at Westminster excited still greater interest, not only in London, but throughout the whole country, than any other election struggle that took place at this time. That celebrated borough had been represented in the late Parliament by Lord Cochrane and Sir Francis Burdett; but the great sea-captain was about to take the command of the naval forces of Chili, in South America, and declined to offer himself for re-election. 'A little committee of tradesmen,' who had persuaded themselves that they were all powerful in Westminster, and fancied that they could bring in any man whom they thought fit to propose as a colleague to Sir Francis Burdett, resolved to bring forward the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, a brother of Lord Kinnaird's, with whose name, up till that moment, the constituency was wholly unacquainted. Mr. Kinnaird, like Sir Francis, was the advocate of universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and the ballot. The Whig party in Westminster addressed a requisition, very influentially signed, to Sir Samuel Romilly, to allow himself to be put in nomination, at the same time requesting him to abstain from all personal attendance, trouble, and expense, and assuring him that they required from him no pledge, since the uniform tenor of his life, his known attachment to the Constitution, his zealous and unremitting efforts for the amelioration of the laws, the correction of abuses, and the support of the cause of freedom, justice, and humanity, wherever assailed, were a sure pledge to them of his qualifications to represent them in Parliament. Romilly, notwithstanding that he had refused pressing invitations from Liverpool, Coventry, Chester, Hull, Huntingdonshire, and Glamorganshire, assuring him that if he would come forward his success at any of these places was certain, and that the expense would be inconsiderable, thought it his duty to accept the Westminster requisition; though, as he truly said, 'it gratifies

no vanity of mine, and, whatever be the result, it will contribute in no degree to my happiness.' The Government candidate was Sir Murray Maxwell, a distinguished naval officer. Henry Hunt, a presumptuous, vain, and ignorant demagogue of broken fortune, and profligate habits, also offered himself, with no expectation of being elected, but merely that he might have 'an opportunity of making violent speeches and abusing the men he once extolled.' Old Major Cartwright was also put up by 'some absurd Radical reformers, without any hope or even wish of his own.'

The election began on the 18th of June. The show of hands was in favour of Romilly and Hunt. The former was at the head of the poll on the first day, and kept that position throughout. The committee of Burdett and Kinnaird, much to their discredit, published violent hand-bills against Romilly, in which they accused him of being 'a lawyer, one of the Whig faction, and a person who sat on a committee against the much injured Princess of Wales.' Finding, however, that Burdett, at the close of the poll on the third day, had received little more than a third of the votes given for Sir Murray Maxwell, who stood second, and that they were seriously endangering his election by canvassing for Kinnaird in opposition to Romilly, they determined to withdraw that gentleman as a candidate, and to canvass for Burdett alone, using every exertion to place him at the head of the poll. But in this they failed, though on the fifth day they succeeded in placing him two votes above Maxwell. The poll was kept open fifteen days, and at the close the numbers were, for Romilly 5339, for Burdett 5238, for Maxwell 4808, and 84 for Hunt, who 'under every sort of disgrace had continued a candidate to the end, some days polling one or two votes, and some days none.' Major Cartwright withdrew at the end of the third day, having polled only sixty-five votes. Covent Garden during the election was a scene of almost incessant confusion and riots. Captain

Maxwell was grossly insulted by the populace each day as he appeared on the ground; and on the evening of the fifth day, as he was retiring from the hustings, he was attacked by some ruffians, and was so severely injured that he was not able again to appear in public while the contest lasted. On one of the days of the election the Riot Act had to be read and the military called out.

While the struggle was proceeding, Romilly attended daily in the Court of Chancery, and 'went on with his business there as quietly as if there had been no election in the kingdom.' But at its close he thanked the electors in a brief but powerful speech—the last which this great law reformer and noble-minded patriot ever delivered. At the close of it he said, 'I am sensible that the thanks which it will become me to give, and which will be worthy of you to receive, are thanks not to be expressed in words, but in actions; not in this place, but within the walls of the House of Commons. The representative of Westminster should express his thanks by a faithful discharge of the sacred duties which you have imposed upon him; by a constant and vigilant attention to the public interests; by being a faithful guardian of the people's interest and a bold asserter of their rights; by resenting all attacks, whether open or insidious, which may be made upon the liberty of the press, the trial by jury, and the Habeas Corpus—the great security of all our liberties; by defeating all attempts to substitute in place of that Government of law and justice to which Englishmen have been accustomed, a Government supported by spies and informers; by endeavouring to restrain the lavish and improvident expenditure of public money; by opposing all new and oppressive taxes; by endeavouring to procure the abolition of useless and burthensome offices, a more equal representation of the people in Parliament, and a shorter duration of the Parliament's existence; by being the friend of religious as well as of civil liberty; by seeking to restore this country to the proud

station which it held amongst nations when it was the secure asylum of those who were endeavouring to escape in foreign countries from religious or political persecution. These are the thanks which the electors of Westminster are entitled to expect; and when the time shall come that I shall have to render to you an account of the trust you have committed to me, I trust in God that I shall be able to show that I have discharged it honestly and faithfully.'

Those who listened to these noble patriotic sentiments little thought that the orator would never enter upon the duties which he described in such glowing terms, and that before Parliament met his career would be closed. In a brief note appended to Romilly's diary it is stated, 'Lady Romilly died on the 29th October, 1818. The husband survived but for three days the wife, whom he had loved with a devotion to which her virtues and her happy influence on the usefulness of his life gave her so just a claim. His anxiety during her illness preyed upon his mind and affected his health; and the shock occasioned by her death led to that event which brought his life to a close on the 2nd of November, 1818, in the sixty-second year of his age. This melancholy termination of a career so eminently useful, as well as honourable and illustrious, produced a profound sensation throughout the country; for no man of his day was more esteemed or more universally beloved than Romilly. Even those who, like Lord Eldon, were diametrically opposed to his political principles deeply lamented his loss. When the chancellor came into court next morning, says his biographer, he was 'obviously much affected. As he took his seat he was much struck by the sight of the vacant place within the bar which Romilly was accustomed to occupy. His eyes filled with tears; "I cannot stay here," he exclaimed, and rising in great agitation broke up his court.'

'Few persons,' says Lord Brougham, 'have ever attained celebrity of name and exalted station in any country or in any

age, with such unsullied purity of character as this equally eminent and excellent person. He was a person of the most natural and simple manners, and one in whom the kindest charities and warmest feelings of human nature were blended in the largest measure with that firmness of purpose and unrelaxed sincerity of principle, in almost all other men found to be little compatible with the attributes of a gentle nature and the feelings of a tender heart. As his practice, so his authority at the bar and with the bench was unexampled, and his success in Parliament was great and progressive. . . . The friend of public virtue and the advocate of human improvement will mourn still more sorrowfully over his urn than the admirers of genius or those who are dazzled by political triumphs. For no one could know Romilly and doubt that as he only valued his own success and his own powers in the belief that they might conduce to the good of mankind, so each augmentation of his authority, each step of his progress, must have been attended with some triumph in the cause of humanity and justice. . . . In his private life and personal habits he exhibited a model for imitation and an object of unqualified esteem. In his family and in society, where it was his delight and the only reward of his unremitting labours to unbend, he was amiable, simple, natural, cheerful. The vast resources of his memory; the astonishing economy of time, by which he was enabled to read almost every work of interest that came from the press of either France or England; the perfect correctness of his taste; his freedom from affectation; the wisdom of not being above doing ordinary things in the ordinary way—all conspired to render his society peculiarly attractive, and would have made it courted even had his eminence in higher matters been far less conspicuous. While it was the saying of one political adversary, the most experienced and correct observer among all the parliamentary men of his time (Mr. Charles Long, afterwards Lord

Farnborough), that he never was out of his place while Romilly spoke without finding that he had cause to lament his absence; it was the confession of all who were admitted to his private society that they forgot the lawyer, the orator, and the patriot, and had never been aware, while gazing on him with admiration, how much more he really deserved that tribute than he appeared to do when seen from afar.'

Several other men of great eminence passed away in the course of this year. Warren Hastings, the celebrated Governor-General of Bengal, died on the 22nd of August in his eighty-sixth year, having survived the termination of his memorable trial no less than a quarter of a century. No one will deny him the possession of rare talents both for command and administration, and he was unquestionably the ablest of all the great men to whom the destinies of our empire in the East have been intrusted. 'He preserved and extended an empire,' says Lord Macaulay; 'he founded a polity; he administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu, and patronized learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo.' But it must be admitted that he was not either a righteous or a merciful man. His principles were lax, and he had little respect for the rights or sympathy for the sufferings of others. Three months later, Sir Philip Francis, the inveterate enemy of Hastings, followed him to the grave at the age of seventy-eight, having survived for half a century the publication of the famous 'Letters of Junius,' of which he is commonly believed to be the author. Lord Ellenborough, who, as Mr. Law, was leading counsel for Hastings during his impeachment, died on the 13th of December in his sixty-ninth year. The death of Queen Charlotte, on the 17th of November, was an event of no political importance; but it led to a good deal of unbecoming and unpleasant discussion, when Parliament met, respecting the arrangements for the care of the king's person.

## CHAPTER X.

Opening of the New Parliament of 1819—Commercial Disasters—Distress of the Working Classes—Duke of York appointed Keeper of the King's Person—Windsor Establishment Bill—Weakness of the Ministry—Currency Question—The Bank Committee—Mr. Peel's Erroneous Financial Policy of the Government—Foreign Enlistment Act—Reform of the Criminal Law—Sir Francis Burdett—Parliamentary Reform.

WHEN the new Parliament met, on the 14th of January, 1819, it was evident that the Opposition had gained, both in numbers and spirit. Tierney, who had been appointed their leader in place of the late Mr. Ponsonby, declared that they had increased from 140 to 173, and the state of public feeling towards the Government strengthened not a little the ranks of their opponents. The speech of the Regent, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, declared that his Royal Highness had 'the gratification of announcing a considerable and progressive improvement of the revenue.' 'He had the greatest pleasure,' he said, 'in being able to inform Parliament that the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country are in a most flourishing condition,' and he observed that 'the favourable change which has so rapidly taken place in the internal circumstances of the United Kingdom afford the strongest proofs of the solidity of its resources.' Unfortunately the real condition of the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country did not warrant such confident assertions respecting its prosperity, either present or prospective; and the ministers proved to be as much mistaken now as when, three years before, they had made the Regent congratulate the country on 'the flourishing condition of the commerce, manufactures, and resources' of the kingdom, when it was on the eve of a period of unexampled distress. The year 1818 had closed in the midst of numerous and extensive bankruptcies, and they continued throughout the first months of 1819. 'The largest,' says Mr. Tooke, 'in point of amount, of the articles of which there was so great

an excess of the importation, was cotton; and it was in this article that the fall in price was the greatest, and the failures among those concerned in it consequently the most extensive. The error usual on such occasions had been committed; the stocks on the spot had been greatly reduced in 1816, and a rise of price of this reduced stock was perfectly justified; but then, as in more recent instances, the advanced price was not confined to the small stocks on the spot, but was paid for large quantities in the countries of growth to be shipped hither.' The result was that 'importers, speculators, and manufacturers were successively ruined by having embarked too largely upon the anticipation of the maintenance of the former range of high prices. There were also very extensive failures in New York, but more especially in Charleston, and other southern parts of the United States at the close of 1818, and at the commencement of 1819.' These commercial disasters, of course, exercised a most unfavourable influence on the condition of the manufacturing population. They had the effect both of throwing not a few out of employment, and of reducing still farther the rate of wages, already too low to compensate for the high prices of food. Great dissatisfaction in consequence prevailed among the working-classes, especially among those engaged in the cloth and coal trades, and on the part of the Lancashire cotton-spinners. About 15,000 of them struck work so early as the month of June, 1818, and they not only assembled in great numbers and paraded the streets, but made attacks on their fellow operatives who refused to join the strike, and on the

factories where they were at work. These riotous proceedings were not suppressed without bloodshed; and though tranquillity was ultimately restored by the intervention of the military, a spirit of sullen discontent continued to smoulder in the manufacturing districts of the country.

Meanwhile, however, the eager speculations and large importations of foreign commodities throughout the past year had greatly augmented the public revenue; and the Government, persistently blind to the real state of the country, imagined that the increase of the sum derived from the duties levied on foreign goods was a sure sign of national prosperity, and they proceeded with their usual disregard of economy in carrying out their fiscal schemes.

The death of the queen, who had been intrusted with the care of the king's person, rendered it necessary that new arrangements should be made for the superintendence of the aged monarch, who was not only insane, but wholly blind and deaf. On the 25th of January the prime minister introduced a bill into the Upper House, transferring this trust to the king's second son, the Duke of York. To this proposal no opposition was made in either House. But it was otherwise with the 'Royal Household or Windsor Establishment Bill,' which followed. In 1812, £100,000 a year had been appropriated by Parliament to the king's household, and £58,000 a year to that of the queen. The allowance to her majesty, of course, lapsed with her death; but the Ministry proposed that £25,000 a year of the late queen's income should be set aside, to be given in pensions to old servants in her household. They could not but admit that £100,000 a year was much too large a sum for the maintenance of the infirm old king, and they proposed to reduce it one-half. So far these proposals met with the approval of the Parliament, though the ministers had to withdraw some of the pensions which they had proposed to bestow on certain of her majesty's servants. But the queen, in addition to

the sum allotted for the maintenance of her household, had received £10,000 a year as the keeper of the king's person, and the Ministry proposed that the same salary should be continued to the Duke of York. It was quite well known that this part of the Government scheme would provoke the strongest opposition. Apart from the question of economy, there appeared to be a violation of the dictates both of justice and right feeling in the attempt to make the lunacy of the king conducive to the pecuniary advantage of the son, who could not allege that his office as *custos* of the royal person would subject him to any additional expense. Accordingly, when the House of Commons went into committee on the report of the select committee respecting the Royal Household Bill, there was a keen debate on the question of the duke's salary. The Ministry were in a feeble, tottering condition, and had to a great extent lost the respect both of the country and the House; and the consciousness of their weak condition seems to have produced a feeling of irritation in their minds, which did not tend to strengthen their cause or to conciliate their opponents. Lord Castlereagh, in opening the debate, used very strong language respecting the proposition which the Opposition intended to submit. If it should be carried, he said, it would consign the names of the members of the new Parliament to infamy in the estimation of the country. A menace so injudicious and unwarranted was not likely to deter such men as Lord Althorp, Lord Milton, and Mr. Brougham from doing what they considered their duty; and Mr. Tierney, the leader of the Opposition, at once moved an amendment, to the effect that the expense attending the care of his majesty's person should be defrayed out of the privy purse or the other private funds of the Crown. Apart from the £50,000 a year which had been voted for the support of the royal establishment at Windsor, his majesty had a privy purse of £60,000 a year, and he derived an additional revenue



of upwards of £10,000 a year from the duchy of Lancaster. Surely the expense of taking care of the king's person might be defrayed out of this large sum. The principle universally adopted in the Court of Chancery was to make the support and care of a lunatic a charge upon his estate, and this course Tierney contended ought to be followed in the case of the king. He was answered by Mr. Peel, at this time Secretary for Ireland, who pleaded that the privy purse had hitherto been regarded as a sacred and inviolable fund, and informed the House that the Duke of York was determined to accept no salary which was derived from that source. The debate was continued on the Government side by Mr. Huskisson, Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and by the Attorney-General, Sir Samuel Shepherd, and Sir Robert Gifford, the Solicitor-General, while the amendment was supported by the leaders of the Opposition, and especially by Scarlett (afterwards Lord Abinger), who spoke for the first time in answer to Peel and the Solicitor-General. 'The Opposition,' says Grenville, 'came to Brookes' full of admiration of his speech, which is said to be the best first speech that ever was made in the House of Commons. I who hear all parties, and care for none, have been amused with the different accounts of the debate. One man says Peel's speech was the best of the night, and the finest that has been made in the House for a length of time; another prefers the Solicitor-General's, then on the other side it is said that Tierney was excellent; Mr. Scarlett beyond all praise. The friends of Government allow great merit to the two latter speakers, but declare that Peel was unanswerable, besides having been beautifully eloquent, and that Scarlett's speech was a fallacy from beginning to end. Again I am told that Peel was not good; his was a speech for effect, evidently prepared, showy, but not argumentative; Scarlett triumphantly refuted all his reasonings.' 'Thus it is,' he adds, 'that a fair judgment is never formed upon any question; the spirit of party in-

fluences every man's opinions.' Wilberforce, a much higher authority, who voted against the grant, says this was the best debate he had witnessed for a long time. 'Castlereagh, Tierney, Peel, Bankes, the Solicitor-General, Scarlett, all did well.' He had himself intended to take part in the debate, and had, he adds, 'really the plan of a good and very telling speech, from its taking up some of Peel's points;' but he came away without speaking, partly from his distress about Castlereagh, who had been pained by some expressions of Wilberforce in a speech a few days before.

The debate excited an amount of interest in the public out of all proportion to the importance of the question at issue, and the Duke of York was so affected by the opposition to the grant and the strong feeling out of doors, that he wished to withdraw his claim for a salary. But the Prince Regent would not permit him to take this step, which he is said to have alleged was dictated by the desire on the part of the duke to obtain popularity at his expense. The Ministry, weak as they were, carried their proposal by a majority of 281 to 186, though the ranks of the Opposition must have been strengthened on this occasion by the accession of a number of the usual supporters of the Government. When the resolution of the committee was reported to the House there was another keen debate, in which Canning, Brougham, and Denman took part, but the vote was carried by 247 to 137. When the House of Lords entered into committee on the bill, Earl Grey, in a long and powerful speech, proposed the omission of the clause respecting the Duke of York's salary, and was supported by the Marquis of Lansdowne and other peers. The defence of the ministerial proposal chiefly devolved on the Lord Chancellor, who contended that the privy purse was as completely the property of the king as anything belonging to any of their lordships was private property to them. Now, the private property

of any subject during mental alienation was placed under proper care that it might be forthcoming for his use at the return of his reason; and he would put it to their lordships whether the sovereign ought to be deprived in his affliction of that which was allowed to the humblest of his subjects, the benefit of the principle which arose from a hope of his recovery? It did not follow, however, that the king's privy purse was liable, like the private property of a subject, to the maintenance of the proprietor during lunacy; the king being entitled, both in health and in sickness, to a maintenance from the nation irrespectively of his privy purse. His lordship vindicated the allowance to the Duke of York as necessary to the *custos* of the king's person, on the same principle on which the maintenance of the king's household was necessary—the principle of keeping up the royal dignity, and enabling the representative of the sovereign to support the expenses and continue the bounties which had ever been connected with the royal state.' The amendment was not pressed to a division, but the discussion was exceedingly damaging, both to the monarchy and to the royal family.

The weakness of the Ministry at this time had now become apparent to every one, and was keenly felt by themselves; and the proceedings of the first session of the new Parliament had contributed not a little to depreciate them in public estimation. 'The Ministry,' wrote a shrewd observer, 'is in a strange state. The majority of the House of Commons seems equally determined on two points; first, that it shall always stumble; second, that it shall not fall. The result of the great battle that was fought upon Tierney's motion (18th May, for a committee on the state of the nation) seemed to promise more strength; but Thursday (3rd June, when the second reading of the Enlistment Bill was only carried by a majority of thirteen) was a complete relapse into languid support and negligent attendance.' The proposal to add

Brougham's name to the Bank Committee, which was violently resisted by the Ministry, was defeated by only 173 votes to 135. The motion of Sir James Macintosh, on the 2nd of March, for the appointment of a committee on Capital Punishments (in support of which he delivered a speech that excited universal admiration, and was pronounced temperate and eloquent even by his opponents), was carried by 148 to 128 against the previous question moved by Lord Castlereagh. On the 3rd of May, the motion of Mr. Grattan for the appointment of a committee on the Roman Catholic question was negatived by a majority of only two; and on the 6th of the same month, Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion for a committee on the reform of the Scottish burghs was carried against Ministers by a majority of five. Lady Bathurst, the wife of one of the Cabinet Ministers, said to Charles Greville that 'she felt more apprehensive now than ever she had done for the safety of the Government, and that it was impossible for Ministers to stay in if they were defeated, as they had occasionally been in the last Parliament; and that if they were defeated, she should attribute it all to Vansittart, who is a millstone about their necks.' 'The impression of the weakness of the Government increases daily,' wrote Mr. Fremantle, member for Buckingham, to the Marquis of Buckingham, patron or proprietor of the borough, 'and the unity and strength of the Opposition, of course, improves.' The Ministry are 'so completely paralysed that they dare do nothing, and it becomes a Government of committees of the House of Commons.' 'It is difficult,' wrote Charles Wynn, member for Montgomeryshire, to the same nobleman, 'to describe to you the daily increasing appearances of weakness in the Government, which are such as, if I had not seen all I have seen during some years past, would make me think it quite impossible that they should go on for a month. They evidently have no hold on the House.'

It has transpired that the prime minister

himself shared in the conviction that the Government was in an unsatisfactory and unsafe condition. On the 10th of May he wrote to Lord-Chancellor Eldon—‘I am sanguine enough to think that we have a reasonable chance of success in carrying out the measures which were discussed on Saturday; but whether I may turn out right or wrong as to this, I am quite satisfied, after long and anxious consideration, that if we cannot carry what has been proposed, it is far, far better for the country that we should cease to be the Government. After the defeats we have already experienced during this session, our remaining in office is a *positive* evil. It confounds all ideas of government in the minds of men. It disgraces us *personally*, and renders us less capable every day of being of any real service to the country, either now or hereafter. If, therefore, things are to remain as they are, I am quite clear that there is no advantage in any way in our being the persons to carry on the public service. A strong and decisive effort can alone redeem our character and credit, and is as necessary for the country as it is for ourselves. As to a postponement for two years, it would be mere self-delusion, and is far more objectionable in my judgment in every bearing than at once renouncing all idea of setting the finances of the country right.’

The measure to which Lord Liverpool referred in this letter to the Lord-Chancellor was the resumption of cash payments. During the protracted continental war the Bank of England had been authorized by the Legislature to issue notes, which it was not bound to pay in gold and silver; but it had been distinctly stipulated that within six months after the close of the war cash payments should be resumed. The evils resulting from an inconvertible currency had for a considerable time attracted the attention of political economists, and had excited a lengthened controversy between the advocates of a paper and the supporters of a metal currency. In 1810 Francis Horner, who had thoroughly mastered this

important question, moved for and obtained the appointment of the celebrated Bullion Committee, which recommended that cash payments should be resumed at the end of two years. On the 6th of May, 1811, Mr. Horner, who was chairman of the committee, brought forward a series of resolutions, setting forth the opinions embodied in its report—stating that the only legal money which can pass is gold and silver—that such being the fact, the fall or deviation in the currency was occasioned by too abundant an issue of paper by the Bank of England and country bankers—and that the only security for the country was to convert this paper into legal currency, at the option of the holder, at the then price of exchange. Vansittart, who was then out of office, but gave a general support to Perceval’s administration, moved counter resolutions, affirming that ‘the promissory notes of the Bank of England have hitherto been and are at this time held to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm;’ in other words, that a one pound bank-note and a shilling are equal in value to a golden guinea—‘a standing topic of ridicule ever since,’ says Tooke. Vansittart’s resolutions also affirmed the inexpediency of fixing ‘a definite period for the removal of the restriction of cash payments at the Bank of England prior to the time already fixed—of six months—after the conclusion of a definite period of peace.’

After the termination of the war Horner once more brought the subject under the notice of the House of Commons; and on the 1st of May, 1816, he moved that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of restoring the cash payments of the Bank of England, and the safest and most advantageous means of effecting it. In a speech, displaying the most thorough knowledge of the subject in all its bearings, he pointed out the evils which had already resulted from an inconvertible paper currency, and the mischief which would be caused by renewing the restriction on the bank payments for

two years as was proposed by the Government. 'Had they felt no evils,' he asked, 'from the long suspension of cash payments? Were they sensible of no evils after all that had passed in the course of the discussions of the agricultural distress, during which no one had been hardy enough to deny that a great evil had arisen from the sudden destruction of the artificial prices? Would any man say that there had not been a great change in the value of money? What this was owing to might be disputed; but for his own part he had not the least doubt from inquiries which he had made, and from the accounts on the table he was convinced, that a greater and more sudden reduction of the circulating medium had never taken place in any country than had taken place since the peace in this country, with the exception of those reductions which had happened in France after the Mississippi scheme, and after the destruction of the assignats. He should not go into the question how this reduction had been effected, though it was a very curious one, and abounded in illustrations of the principles which had been so much disputed in that House. *The reduction of the currency had originated in the previous fall of the prices of agricultural produce.* This fall had produced a reduction of the country bank paper to an extent which would not have been thought possible without more ruin than had ensued. The Bank of England had also reduced its issues, as appeared by the accounts recently presented. The average amount of their currency was not during the last year more than between twenty-five and twenty-six millions, while two years ago it had been nearer twenty-nine millions, and at one time even amounted to thirty-one millions. But without looking to the diminution of the Bank of England paper, the reduction of country paper was enough to account for the fall which had taken place.

'Another evil which had resulted from the state of the currency, which he had foreseen and predicted, but which had been deemed

visionary, was that during the war we had borrowed money, which was then of small value, and we were now obliged to pay it at a high value. This was the most formidable evil which threatened our finances; and, though he had too high an opinion of the resources of the country and of the wisdom of the Government to despair, he was appalled when he considered the immense amount of the interest of the debt contracted in that artificial currency compared with the produce of the taxes. . . . Looking forward to the operation of this restriction in time of peace, it would be found to leave us without any known or certain standard of money to regulate the transactions, not only between the public and its creditors, but between individuals. The currency which was to prevail was not only uncertain, but cruel and unjust in its operation; at one time upon those whose income was fixed in money, and to all creditors; at another time, when by some accident it was diminished in amount, to all debtors. Was not this an evil sufficient to attract the attention of a wise, a benevolent, and a prudent government? If they looked at the agricultural interest, was not a fluctuation of prices the greatest of evils to the farmer? For, supposing prices were fixed and steady, it was indifferent to him what was the standard. As long as we had no standard—no fixed value of money—but it was suffered to rise and fall like the quicksilver in the barometer, no man could conduct his property with any security, or depend upon any sure and certain profit. Persons who were aware of the importance of this subject must be surely anxious to know whether there were any imperative reasons for continuing the present system; to know whether it was intended to revert to the old system; and, if not now, when that system would be reverted to, and what would be the best means for bringing about that measure?'

Mr. Horner, while thus earnestly advocating the resumption of cash payments, was careful to point out that he did not

recommend that this should be done at once, but only that steps should be immediately taken with a view to that resumption. He would not specify any time within which the existing restriction should be removed, but he was of opinion that it was the duty both of the Government and the directors of the Bank at once to set about the means of accomplishing the object, which the public had a right to expect. Necessity was the only reason ever urged in justification of this restriction; and when the necessity ceased the country naturally expected that the restriction should cease also. With regard to the best means by which the Bank might be enabled to resume its payments in cash, it might be enacted that the Bank should gradually pay its several notes according to their value. Thus as the Restriction Act was to expire in July, it might be provided that the Bank should pay all notes of one pound within six months; afterwards its two pound notes within the next six months; and all its notes above five pounds after that period. By such an arrangement the Bank would be guarded against the consequences of any sudden change, while the just claims and expectations of the public would be gratified.

Mr. Horner's motion was strenuously opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Huskisson on the part of the Government, though they all admitted that the resumption of cash payments was most desirable and, indeed, necessary, and that nothing but rendering bank notes exchangeable for cash or bullion could possibly restore the currency to a sound state. Mr. Horner, in his 'luminous' reply, pointed out in trenchant terms the inconsistency of the arguments which had been used in support of continuing the Bank Restriction Act, and stated that if the expediency of resuming cash payments at the end of two years, which had been admitted, were put into the Bill, and that the intermediate period should be spent in making preparatory arrangements for that purpose, he would withdraw his motion and

lend his aid to the forwarding of such arrangements. But this was evidently not the intention of the ministers, and by the present measure they left the time of resuming cash payments as undefined as it was in 1797. The motion was rejected by a majority of 146 to 73. It was subsequently agreed that the resumption of cash payments should be postponed until the 5th of July, 1818, but when that period arrived the restriction was continued to the end of the next session of Parliament.

It had now become evident to every person acquainted with financial affairs, that the Ministry could not go on longer repeating year by year the follies and blunders of their incapable Chancellor of the Exchequer; and at the commencement of the session of 1819 Mr. Huskisson, who alone among the Ministry had studied and adopted the principles of sound political economy, forwarded a memorial to Lord Liverpool on the resumption of cash payments, and the method in which this should be carried into effect. This step, indeed, could no longer be delayed with safety. The Bank itself had become impatient of these repeated short and temporary suspensions of cash payments and wished the matter settled. It would appear that the Lord Chancellor had very characteristically recommended that the question should once more be postponed for two years; but Lord Liverpool, as we have seen, had peremptorily refused to listen to the suggestion. He was well aware that the delay for two years of the parliamentary discussion necessary to originate the settlement of the currency, and to make preparations to carry it into effect, would have been regarded by the country as tantamount to a total abandonment of this important measure.

On the 2nd of February the subject of the resumption of cash payments was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Tierney, who moved that a committee should be appointed to consider whether any, and what reasons exist, for continuing the restriction on payments in cash by the Bank beyond

the period now fixed by law for its termination. His speech contained a bitter attack on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose whole course of finance, he said, for system it was not, had rested solely upon paper. Year after year he had done nothing but resort to contrivances to glide over from session to session without inquiry. The Government, of course, refused to accept Mr. Thorneycroft's motion, but proposed another closely resembling it, to the effect that a committee should be appointed 'to consider of the state of the Bank of England with reference to the expediency of the resumption of cash payments at the period fixed by law.' This motion was carried by a great majority, and a secret committee of twenty-one members was chosen by ballot, of whom fourteen were ministerialists. Mr. Peel (afterwards Sir Robert), who was at that time only thirty years of age, was appointed chairman of this important committee. Peel was already regarded as a statesman of great promise. He took high honours at Oxford, and was brought into Parliament soon after he came of age. He was appointed to the Under-Secretaryship of the Colonies in 1811, and on the retirement of Wellesley Pole, in 1813, he was promoted to the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. In 1818 he was elected one of the representatives of the University of Oxford in the room of Abbot, who was transferred to the Upper House on his retirement from the Speakership. Two years after Peel, for reasons which were never fully explained, resigned his office, but continued to give an independent support to Lord Liverpool's government. His election to the chairmanship of the committee appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Bank met with general approval. His opinions on the currency question, though not fixed, inclined towards the propriety of continuing the suspension of cash payments. His father, the first Baronet, was known to hold very decided convictions in favour of this step, and there is good reason to believe that the Ministry counted on Peel adopting the same views.

A similar committee was appointed by the House of Lords, of which Lord Harrowby, President of the Council, was elected chairman. In the beginning of April both committees presented interim reports, suggesting 'the expediency of passing forthwith a bill prohibiting the continuance of the payment in gold by the Bank of its notes issued previously to the 1st of January, 1817, according to its public notices given to that effect.' Mr. Peel, in moving for leave to bring in this bill, stated that between six and seven millions in gold had already been paid by the Bank in fulfilment of its voluntary engagements. 'The issue of that treasure,' he observed, 'had not been attended with any good to the nation; and he thought, indeed it might have been foreseen, that unless this issue had been accompanied by a simultaneous reduction of the number of bank notes, the gold would find its way to those places where there was a greater demand for it. There was little doubt at present as to the place of its destination, for by a report of the minister of finance in France it appeared that, within the first six months of the year, 125,000,000 francs had been coined at the French mint, three-fourths of which, it was understood, had been derived from the gold coin of this realm.' Some objections of no great weight were made against the bill; but the standing orders were suspended in both Houses, and it was passed through all its stages, and became law with all possible expedition.

On the 6th of May Mr. Peel presented to the House of Commons an elaborate report from the committee of which he was chairman, embracing the whole extent of the subject remitted to them. It was divided into two parts—the one containing the result of their inquiries into the state of the Bank of England, and the other setting forth their opinion with respect to the expediency of the resumption of cash payments at the period appointed by law. The liabilities of the Bank, it was stated, amounted on the 30th of January, 1819, to £33,894,580, and its assets in Govern-

ment securities and other credits to £39,096,900, exclusive of the debt of £14,684,800, due from the Government and repayable on the expiration of the charter. The amount of the advances made by the Bank to the public had, on the 29th of April last, reached the sum of £19,438,900, and the largeness of this debt was urged by the Bank as one of the main impediments to its early resumption of cash payments, and it was stated that, in order to make preparations for this resumption, a repayment would be required to the extent of ten millions. The committee earnestly recommended that Parliament should make immediate provision for the repayment of this sum, and should also establish some permanent provision binding and defining the authority of the Bank to make advances to the Government, and to purchase Government securities, and bringing under the constant inspection of Parliament the extent to which that authority may be in future exercised.

With respect to the second head of inquiry—the expediency of returning to cash payments—the committee were of opinion that it should be done gradually; and they recommended that the Bank should be bound to exchange its notes, not for coin, but for bullion of standard fineness, in quantities of not less than sixty ounces, at rates diminishing from time to time from £4 1s. to £3 17s. 10½*d*, per ounce, the Mint price of gold. But from the 1st of May, 1823, the Bank was to pay its notes in the legal coin of the realm.

These recommendations of the secret committees were embodied in a series of resolutions, which were moved by Lord Harrowby in the House of Lords on the 21st of May, and, after a discussion, in which Lords Grenville, King, and Lansdowne expressed their approval of the Government plan, and Lord Lauderdale alone objected to it, were adopted by the House. Three days later the resolutions were proposed by Mr. Peel in an elaborate and able speech. He frankly admitted at

the outset that the facts elicited in the committee had induced him entirely to change his views on the subject. ‘He was ready to own,’ he said, ‘without shame or remorse, that he went into the committee with a very different opinion from that which he at present entertained; for his views of the subject were most materially different when he voted against the resolutions brought forward in 1811 by Mr. Horner as chairman of the Bullion Committee. Having gone into the inquiry determined to dismiss all former impressions that he might have received, and to obliterate from his memory the vote which he had given some years since when the same question was discussed, he had resolved to apply to it his undivided and unprejudiced attention, and adopt every inference that authentic information or mature reflection should offer to his mind; and he had no hesitation in stating, that although he should probably even now vote, if it were brought before the House, in opposition to the practical measure then recommended, he now, with very little modification, concurred in the principles laid down in the first fourteen resolutions submitted to the House by that very able and much-lamented individual. He conceived them to represent the true nature and laws of our monetary system.’

These resolutions were unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, and bills founded on them were introduced and passed without material alterations. The 1st of May, 1822, was substituted for the 1st of May, 1821, as the date at which the Bank should be obliged to begin paying gold for its notes at the Mint price. The Bank, however, did not avail itself of this concession, but began on the 1st of May, 1821, to give gold in exchange for its notes of whatever amount.

The memorandum which Mr. Huskisson forwarded to the prime minister was not limited to the question of the resumption of cash payments; it insisted also on the necessity of a large reduction in the unfunded debt, and pointed out the serious

objections to the financial policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The 'mystery of our financial system,' it said, 'no longer deceives any one in the money market; selling exchequer bills daily to redeem funded debt daily, thus funding these exchequer bills once a year, or once in two years, in order to go over the same ground again; whilst the very air of mystery and the anomaly of large annual or biennial loans in times of profound peace, create uneasiness out of the market, and in foreign countries an impression unfavourable with respect to the solidity of our resources. In finance expedients and ingenious devices may answer to meet temporary difficulties; but for a permanent and peace system the only wise course, either in policy or for impression, is a system of simplicity and truth.'

Mr. Huskisson recommended that the Sinking Fund should be abolished, and that the surplus income alone should be applied to the redemption of the debt. His colleagues, however, were profoundly ignorant of the principles which ought to regulate the financial affairs of the country, and in spite of his remonstrances they resolved to adhere to their old blundering method. On the 8th of February Lord Castlereagh, in a very lengthened speech, proposed the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the national income and expenditure. His motion was, of course, adopted, and a committee was selected mainly composed of staunch supporters of the Ministry. In the beginning of April the committee presented an elaborate report on the subject remitted to them, and on the 3rd of June the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a committee of the whole House, proposed a series of resolutions founded on this report. They began by affirming that, since the termination of the war in 1815, taxes had been repealed or reduced to the amount of £18,000,000 per annum, and that when the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland had been consolidated in January, 1817, the mere interest upon the debt of Ireland, including the

Sinking Fund applicable to its reduction, had exceeded the entire net revenue of that country by nearly £1,900,000, 'without affording any provision for the civil list and other permanent charges, or for the proportion of supplies to be defrayed by that part of the United Kingdom.' It was then stated that the supplies to be voted for the present year amounted to £20,500,000; that the existing revenue applicable to the supplies could not be estimated at more than £7,000,000, leaving the sum of £13,500,000 to be raised by loan or other extraordinary sources; that the Sinking Fund might be estimated at about £15,500,000, exceeding the sum required to be raised for the service of the year by about £2,000,000 only. In these circumstances it was declared 'that to provide for the exigencies of the public service, to make such progressive reduction of the national debt as may adequately support public credit, and to afford the country a prospect of future relief from a part of its present burdens, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a clear surplus of the income of the country beyond the expenditure of not less than £5,000,000; and that with a view to the attainment of this important object, it is expedient now to increase the income of the country by the imposition of taxes to the amount of £3,000,000 per annum.

On the 7th of June, when the House again resolved itself into a committee to consider these resolutions, they met with a strong opposition from Mr. Tierney, Mr. Brougham, and other Whig members of Parliament, who especially denounced the imposition of new taxes at the present juncture, when the country was just recovering from the distress of previous years, and a rigid economy would effect large reductions on many branches of expenditure. In addition to the supplies of the year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to fund £10,597,000 of unfunded debt. He required to raise, therefore, not £13,500,000, but £24,000,000. He resolved to raise one half of this sum in the ordinary



way by a loan, and to borrow the other moiety of £12,000,000 from the Sinking Fund. A new Sinking Fund was created on the money so borrowed; but all this 'mystery,' as Huskisson termed it, and this manipulation of sums raised and borrowed, could not conceal the fact that three-fourths of the fund was to be applied to the current expenses of the year; that 'while the Sinking Fund was cutting off one portion of debt at one end,' the Chancellor of the Exchequer 'was adding to it in equal proportion at the other by exchequer bills;' and that contracting fresh loans to pay off debt added nothing to the resources of the country. The previous question was moved by Mr. Tierney, but on a division the resolutions were carried by a majority of 329 against 132. The feeling in the country, however, was strongly opposed to the financial policy of the Government, and especially to the proposal to impose new taxes on foreign wool, malt, tobacco, coffee, tea, and other articles of general consumption, at a time when there was actually a clear surplus of £2,000,000 a year. The enormous increase of the tax on wool was specially obnoxious. The woollen manufacture, one of the most important industries in the country, and largely dependent on foreign wool, was at this moment in a declining state; and yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer resolved to raise the duty from 6s. 8d. to 56s. a cwt. No wonder that the consternation of the manufacturers and merchants was very great, and that 'their outcry against Vansittart increased daily and was quite universal.'

Although the Government was in a weak condition, and met with several defeats in their opposition to the resolutions proposed by independent members of the House, they succeeded in carrying most of their measures. One of these, which was most obstinately resisted, was the Foreign Enlistment Bill, the object of which was 'to prevent the enlisting or engagement of His Majesty's subjects to serve in foreign service, and the fitting out or equipping in His

Majesty's dominions vessels for warlike purposes without His Majesty's license,' under the penalty of being found guilty of a misdemeanor for the first offence, and of felony for the second. Even on the motion of the Attorney-General for leave to bring in the bill, it was denounced by Sir James Mackintosh; Mr. George Lamb, the newly elected member for Westminster in the room of Sir Samuel Romilly, and brother of Lord Melbourne; and by other members of the Opposition. The second reading was opposed by Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Denman, and other leading members, and was carried by a majority of only 155 votes against 142. Another keen debate took place on the motion for going into committee, in which a speech was delivered by Sir James Mackintosh of remarkable learning and eloquence, which, says the chronicler, 'was heard with profound attention, and greeted by long-continued cheers from both sides of the House.'

'Canning answered him, but not successfully,' says Grenville, and his speech must have presented a marked contrast to his sentiments a few years later, when he vindicated his recognition of the South American colonies as free and independent states. The third reading gave rise to another animated discussion, in which Sir William Scott, Dr. Phillimore, and Mr. Robert Grant supported, and Mr. Scarlett, Lord Nugent, and Mr. Grenville denounced the measure. The bill was finally carried by 180 votes to 129. In the House of Lords also it encountered a vigorous opposition from Lord Holland, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Bute, and the Earl of Carnarvon, and was feebly advocated by Earl Bathurst and the Earl of Westmoreland; but on a division it obtained 100 votes against 47 for an amendment proposed by Lord Holland. The resistance to the bill was mainly caused by the knowledge of the fact that it was intended to prevent assistance being given to the South American States, who were struggling to emancipate themselves from the yoke of Spain. One

member remarked that it ought to be entitled 'a bill to prevent British subjects from lending their assistance to the South American cause, or enlisting in the South American service.' Another member declared that the bill proceeded from no regard to neutrality, from no returning sense of justice, but from a wish to prevent the people of this country from going to the assistance of those who were struggling for their liberties against a despotism, one of the worst that ever afflicted mankind. A third, after declaring that the Spanish domination in South America was one of unparalleled oppression and iniquity, reminded the Ministry that while the British officers and men who were fighting in the cause of the States were prevented from obtaining arms and ammunition, these supplies were not only permitted to Spain, but British ships of war convoyed vessels laden with these articles to their destination. But the Ministry, though beaten in argument, were successful at the division, and their bill became law.

A motion made by Mr. Tierney, on the 18th of May, that the House should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the nation, led to a very lengthened debate, but was negatived by a majority of 357 against 178. Various attempts were made to reform the criminal law; but the only reforms of any importance that were effected during the present session were the repeal of certain old Scottish acts, which punished with banishment and the forfeiture of all his moveable property a person sending or bearing a challenge to fight a duel, whether it took place or not, and the abolition of the old and barbarous right of trial by battle, and of appeals against a pardon granted by the Crown to a person found guilty of murder, felony, or mayhem. Sir Francis Burdett contended that the appeal, in cases of murder, was an ancient constitutional right, which ought not to be abolished; but though supported by a petition from the Common Council of the city of London,

his amendment for retaining the right of appeal in criminal cases found only four supporters against eighty-six who opposed it. Bills were also passed for the general amendment of the poor laws, and of the laws respecting the settlement of paupers, so far as regards renting tenements; for the regulation of cotton factories, and the limitation of the hours of labour of young persons employed in them; for carrying into effect a treaty concluded with the Netherlands for the suppression of the slave trade; and to amend the act of the last session for carrying into effect the convention with Portugal for the same purpose.

On the 1st of July, within a few days of the end of the session, the Marquis of Tavistock, eldest son of the Duke of Bedford, one of the largest landed proprietors in the kingdom, presented a petition from 1800 respectable householders of Liverpool, praying for representation in Parliament. The house of Russell had long occupied a prominent place in the ranks of reformers and friends of progress; but they had no sympathy with the extreme views advocated by the demagogues of those days. Lord Tavistock, in presenting the petition intrusted to him, said the reform which appeared to him to be the best was one which would be moderate in the changes that it would introduce in existing institutions, and radical in the correction of the abuses which had gradually grown up under them. He expressed his hearty disapproval of all those wild and impracticable theories which had lately been broached, and of the conduct of those who called themselves the people of England, and yet sowed distrust and disunion among the friends of reform by taking up a plan one day and laying it down the next, when it suited them—running down every plan that they thought to be practicable, and vilifying all those who, in their projects of reform, were one step short of themselves.

After the petition had been presented, a scheme of reform was proposed by a man to

whom the words of Lord Tavistock applied with peculiar force. Sir Francis Burdett commenced his public career as an extreme Radical, and he ended it as an extreme Tory. He advocated universal suffrage, electoral districts, and annual parliaments; and for more than a quarter of a century he pursued a course of incessant agitation in behalf of these and other schemes of a similar kind, 'often in concert with obscure and worthless adventurers, that made him the terror of a large portion of the community, and the scourge of successive administrations.' His birth, rank, and large landed estate made him a much more formidable adversary to the governing classes than the other Radical reformers with whom he was identified by the supporters of the Ministry; and he was in consequence regarded with much greater political animosity than even Cobbett or Hunt. Sir Walter Scott speaks of his public character and conduct in the very strongest terms of reprobation; and his behaviour in 1810, in connection with the imprisonment of Gale Jones, when he defied the authority of the House of Commons and resisted the Speaker's warrant—proceedings which led to dangerous riots and the loss of several lives—drew down upon him the condemnation of such reformers as Romilly and Brougham. And yet Burdett was at heart a thorough aristocrat. He had a high appreciation of his rank and his position in society. 'He revered the monarchy, he was assiduous in his attendance at Court, he discountenanced all attacks on the influence of the Crown, maintaining that the monarch was the natural protector of the lower classes against the higher.' His education had been neglected, and his knowledge was not extensive. He was very vain, fond of popularity, jealous of those who were his rivals for the applause of the populace, and ambitious to be regarded as the head of the democratic party in England. He had great vivacity of thought and a ready flow of words, which, set off by a fine, clear

voice, and a graceful person, made his speeches much more acceptable to the masses than to the members of the House of Commons, where he had little weight, and usually received very little support.

On the present occasion he made his annual motion for the eighteenth time on the question of parliamentary reform. All that he now proposed, however, was that the House should pledge itself to take the state of the representation into its most serious consideration early in the next session of Parliament. The speech in which he supported his motion was long and rambling; but it contained a number of arguments and illustrations which must have told with effect even upon an unfriendly audience, and could not fail to elicit popular sympathy and approbation. He rested his proposal on the maxim that representation and taxation should go together. On this principle, he said, he stood as upon a rock. He quoted Blackstone and other great constitutional authorities in support of his views, and referred to the state of the country in proof of the evils that had resulted from the violation of the principle which he had enunciated. The people were overburdened with taxation. The agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country were in a most unsatisfactory condition. The manufacturers declared that it was impossible for them to continue under the present weight of taxation. Their poverty-stricken workmen, notwithstanding their unremitting toil, were still unable to procure a pittance sufficient to sustain their miserable existence. The farmers asserted that they could not hold on, unless duties were imposed on foreign wool and still heavier duties on corn. The clothiers of Yorkshire, on the other hand, affirmed that it was impossible for them to carry on their business unless they obtained a monopoly of the home market, and were allowed to import foreign wool duty-free. The only way to redress the grievances of both classes, Sir Francis contended, was to reduce the taxation under which the country groaned.

But in the present corrupt state of the representation it was impossible to reduce the 'monstrous, dangerous, and unconstitutional military establishment,' and to effect other economies without which remission of taxation could not be carried out. A more economical administration was hopeless until a reform had been effected in the present system of representation, which, he contended, was not less derogatory to the dignity of the Crown than injurious to the interests of the people. The motion was seconded by Mr. George Lamb; but neither he nor the other speakers who supported it approved of the peculiar kind of reform advocated by the mover. Lord John Russell, though admitting the propriety of disfranchising the notoriously corrupt boroughs, could not support a motion 'that went the length of proposing an inquiry into the general state of the representation, because such an inquiry was calculated to throw a slur upon the representation of the country, and to fill the minds of the people with vague and indefinite alarms.' Even Joseph Hume went no farther on this occasion than to observe that the majority of the people of Scotland were favourable to a moderate

reform, and that he should vote for the motion in compliance with the opinion of his constituents. On the division only 58 members voted for the motion, against 153 who opposed it.

Parliament was prorogued on the 13th of July by the Prince Regent in person. After some commonplace remarks on the business of the session, his Royal Highness spoke of the attempts which had been recently made in some of the manufacturing districts to excite a spirit of disaffection to the institutions and government of the country. He was determined, he said, to employ the powers intrusted to him by the law for the maintenance of public order and tranquillity, and he urged the members, on their return to their several counties, to use their utmost endeavours, in co-operation with the magistracy, to defeat the machinations of those who under the pretence of reform had in reality no other object than the subversion of the constitution.

The condition of the country, indeed, was creating general anxiety, and great apprehensions were entertained that the Government had neither the foresight nor the vigour requisite to deal with the impending crisis.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Parliamentary Reform—Meetings held throughout the Country—Arrest and Imprisonment of Sir Charles Wolseley and Mr. Harrison—The Female Reform Society—General Excitement throughout the Country—Military Drilling of Radicals—The 'Peterloo Massacre'—Evacuation of France by the Allied Armies—Coercive Measures of the Government—The 'Six Acts'—Death of George III. and of the Duke of Kent—The Cato Street Conspiracy—Execution of Thistlewood and Four of his Accomplices—Government Spies—The Radical Rising—Bonnymuir—Trial and Execution of Three of the Insurgents—Trial and Sentence of Hunt and his Associates.*

THE distress that prevailed in the manufacturing districts of the country not unnaturally revived the demand for a reform of the parliamentary representation. From the beginning of the year reform meetings were held at intervals in a number of the large manufacturing towns, at which resolutions were passed in favour of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. Application was made to the borough-recve and constables of Manchester to summon a public meeting for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the repeal of the corn laws. On their refusal, an anonymous advertisement appeared, calling a meeting for the 18th of January. Hunt, who had been invited to preside, was met by a great multitude, and conducted into the town with flags, on which were inscribed such mottoes as 'Hunt and Liberty,' 'Rights of Man,' 'Universal Suffrage,' 'No Corn Laws.' The meeting was held on a piece of unoccupied ground near St. Peter's church—the scene a few months later of a much more memorable incident. Hunt, in a characteristic speech, scoffed at the proposal to petition a House of Commons that 'kicked their prayers and petitions out of doors,' and he called on his audience to 'come forward like men and Englishmen, and claim their rights.' Other speeches of the same character were delivered, and a remonstrance to the Prince Regent was adopted instead of a petition to Parliament. The people, however, quietly dispersed.

The Manchester meeting served rather to afford Hunt an opportunity of displaying his egregious folly and vanity than of exciting the working classes to agitate for

reform, and the rest of the winter and the spring passed without any disquieting movement on their part. But the depression of trade and the consequent want of employment increased as the season advanced. There was 'much poverty and much discontentment,' which, according to Lord Bacon, form 'the matter of seditions.' The effect of the unsafe speculations and extravagant overtrading of the previous year were still widely felt in the glut of the markets, the want of confidence and credit, the large number of bankruptcies, the difficulty of obtaining employment, and the consequent fall of wages, while bread maintained a high price. Meetings of the operatives were in consequence held to consider their class grievances; but in a short space of time these meetings assumed more of a political aspect, and the reform of Parliament was spoken of as the best remedy for the distress suffered by the working classes. In the month of June, assemblages of this nature were held at Hunslet Moor, near Leeds, where upwards of 30,000 men were said to have met, and at Ashton-under-Lyne and Glasgow. No breach of the public peace, however, occurred at any of these meetings. The leaders were earnest in their exhortations to the people to preserve a peaceful demeanour, and to avoid even the appearance of disturbance or riot; but they nevertheless spoke strongly of oppressive taxation, and the large number of sinecure offices and pensions as the chief causes of the prevailing distress. The present representation was denounced as a mere mockery, and annual parliaments and universal suffrage

were held up as the only effectual remedies. The meeting at Glasgow, which assembled on the Green, and amounted to between 30,000 and 40,000 persons, excited great alarm in the minds of the authorities, who had a large body of soldiers in readiness to act if necessary; but the proceedings throughout were of the most orderly character. The assembly consisted mainly of poor cotton spinners and weavers, who were either out of employment or working at starving wages; and their object was to petition the Prince Regent to afford them the means of emigrating to Canada, the emigrants promising to repay the expense by annual instalments. An amendment was proposed, declaring that nothing but annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and reduction of taxation would prove an effectual remedy for the prevailing distress. It was said to have been carried, though this was doubtful, and the meeting dispersed in the most peaceable manner.

At the Ashton-under-Lyne meeting violent and foolish speeches were made by the chairman, who called himself the Rev. Joseph Harrison, and by a Dr. Healey, who professed to be a medical practitioner. The meeting at Stockport on the 28th of June, where a cap of liberty was displayed on the top of a flagstaff, was presided over by Sir Charles Wolseley, a foolish and hot-headed Staffordshire baronet, who told his hearers that he had commenced his political career in France; that he was one of the assailants of the Bastile at the commencement of the revolution in that country, and that he was ready to perform a similar service at home; and he swore that he would be faithful to the cause of annual parliaments and universal suffrage so long as his heart's blood should flow in his veins. On that day fortnight a meeting was held at Birmingham, attended by about 15,000 persons, who elected Sir Charles Wolseley as 'legislatorial attorney and representative' for that town. A remonstrance was read which the newly elected member was to present to Parliament; and as Sir Charles

was absent, a deputation was appointed to convey to him the instructions of his constituents. He pledged himself to them that he would claim his seat in the House of Commons, and it would appear that the meeting imagined that they had really succeeded in obtaining in this way a member to represent them in Parliament. Sir Charles was not allowed long to enjoy his senatorial honours in peace. These proceedings, which the general public regarded only with contempt, seem to have alarmed the Government, and provoked them to take action against the leaders. Indictments were immediately presented against both the baronet and Harrison for seditious words spoken at the Stockport meeting, and Sir Charles was arrested in his own house on the 19th of July, by a constable named Birch. Two days later, a meeting was held at Smithfield, London, at which Hunt presided. A strong body of policemen and soldiers was stationed in the vicinity of the place, but the proceedings passed off without the slightest disturbance. Harrison, who was on the hustings, was arrested by the same constable who had taken his coadjutor, Sir Charles Wolseley, into custody, and conveyed back into Cheshire. At Stockport Birch was attacked by some sympathizing friends of Harrison, and was severely wounded by a pistol shot. The baronet and his associate were tried for sedition in the following April at the Cheshire assizes, and were sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. Several persons who had taken a prominent part in Sir Charles Wolseley's election were also prosecuted and convicted.

In the previous year, at a meeting held at Lydgate, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, women had for the first time taken part in this agitation for reform. It was proposed by Bamford, apparently without premeditation or consultation with others, that the females present at the meeting should take part with the men in the show of hands when the resolution he had proposed was put to the meeting. 'This,' he says, 'was

a new idea; and the women, who attended numerously on the bleak ridge, were mightily pleased with it; and the men being nothing dissentient, when the resolution was put the women held up their hands amid much laughter; and ever from that time females voted with the men at the Radical meetings.' The example thus set, he adds, was not only soon after copied at meetings for charitable and religious purposes, but also brought about the formation of female political unions, with their committee-women, chairwomen, and other officials. The innovation thus introduced began now to attract public attention. 'An entirely novel and truly portentous circumstance,' says the *Annual Register* for 1819, 'was the formation of a *Female Reform Society* at Blackburn, near Manchester, from which circular letters were issued, inviting the wives and daughters of workmen in different branches of manufactory to form *sister societies* for the purpose of co-operating with the men, and of instilling into the minds of their children "a deep-rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers." A deputation from this society attended the Blackburn reform meeting, and mounting the scaffold, presented a cap of liberty and an address to the assembly. The example of these females was successfully recommended to imitation by the orators at other meetings.'

These proceedings had excited a good deal of apprehension and anxiety in the public mind; but up to this stage the Government had regarded them with apparent indifference, and with the exception of the arrest of Sir Charles Wolseley and Harrison, no steps had been taken to interfere with the action of the Reformers. 'Your exhortations to the king's servants,' wrote Lord Eldon to his brother, Sir William Scott, 'I doubt can't reach many of them, for with the exception of Liverpool, Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Wellington, Van, and myself, they are all, fourteen in number, in different parts of Europe. We meet daily, but can resolve on nothing

In fact, the state of our law is so inapplicable to existing circumstances that we can't meet the present case; and I am as convinced as I am of my own existence, that if Parliament don't *forthwith* assemble there is nothing that can be done but to let these meetings take place, reading the Riot Act if there be a mob at any of them. Prosecutions for *sedition* spoken at them we have now in plenty afoot, and they may come to trial some months hence. They are not worth a straw, and blamed as I was in 1794 for prosecuting for *high treason*, all are convinced here that *that* species of prosecution can alone be of any use. I think, however, that it won't be attempted. The case is as large and complicated as mine was in 1794, and nobody has the spirit to attempt it.'

Another innovation, introduced at this time in the proceedings of the Reformers, served to increase not a little the public alarm—they now began to practise military drilling. One of the Lancashire magistrates wrote to the Home Secretary on the 5th of August 'that the drilling parties increase very extensively.' Two days later it was reported that 'in various parts of the neighbourhood of Bury there are nightly assemblies of great numbers of men, who meet together to learn and practise military training;' and proceedings of the same kind had been seen in the vicinity of Bolton. It appears that a large number of persons had been drilled on Sunday, the 8th of August, at Tandle Hill, near Rochdale, and that a similar meeting was to be held on the Sunday following, which, however, was to be the last. Informations to the same effect were taken by the magistrates in various other parts of Lancashire, and were transmitted to Lord Sidmouth. The Home Secretary seems to have at once adopted the opinion that this training must have been going on in secret for a long time, and had only now been brought to light, and that it was part of the preparations of the Radicals to bring about a revolution by physical force. There can

be little doubt, however, that this was an entire mistake. There is abundant evidence to show that the drilling did not take place until the first days of August, and that it was intended merely as a preparation for a great meeting which was about to be held at Manchester on the 16th of this month. Bamford, whose honesty and truthfulness are above all suspicion, distinctly affirms that this was the case. 'It was deemed expedient,' he says, 'that this meeting should be as morally effective as possible, and that it should exhibit a spectacle such as had never before been witnessed in England. We had frequently been taunted by the press with our ragged and dirty appearance at these assemblages, with the confusion of our proceedings and the mob-like crowds in which our numbers were mustered; and we determined that for once at least these reflections should not be deserved.' Injunctions were accordingly issued by the committees that the members should attend to the rules of cleanliness and sobriety, and it was resolved to practise drilling for a week or two for the purpose of securing order in their movements. 'These drillings,' says Bamford, 'were also to our sedentary weavers and spinners periods of healthful exercise and enjoyment. When dusk came and we could no longer see to work, we jumped from our looms, rushed to the sweet cool air of the fields, or the waste lands, or the green lane sides. Or in the grey of a fine Sunday morn we would saunter through the mists fragrant with the night odour of flowers and of new hay, and ascending the Tandle Hill salute the broad sun as he climbed from behind the high moors of Saddleworth. . . . There was not any arms—no use for any—no pretence for any; nor would they have been permitted. Some of the elderly men, the old soldiers, or those who came to watch, might bring a walking-staff; or a young fellow might pull a stake from a hedge in going to drill or in returning home; but assuredly we had nothing like arms about us. There were no armed meetings; there were no

midnight drillings. Why should we seek to conceal what we had no hesitation in performing in broad day? There was not anything of the sort.' It is quite evident that the drilling was not clandestine or armed, and that it was not undertaken with a view to any ulterior unlawful object. At the same time it might have been ultimately perverted to purposes quite different from its original object, and it was liable to misconstruction by lookers on, as Bamford himself frankly admits. 'Some extravagances,' he says, 'some acts, and some speeches, better let alone, did certainly take place. When the men clapped their hands in "standing at ease" some would jokingly say "it was firing," whilst those who were sent to observe us—and probably we were seldom unattended by such—and who knew little about military motions, would take the joke as a reality, and report accordingly; whence probably it would be surmised that we had arms, and that our drillings were only preparatory to their more effective use.'

The Reformers of Manchester had resolved to follow the example of Birmingham, and to elect a legislative attorney for their town also. On the 31st of July an advertisement appeared in one of the local newspapers calling a meeting of the inhabitants on the 16th of August for the purpose of choosing a representative and petitioning for a reform of Parliament. The magistrates on this issued a notice, intimating that they would not permit an assemblage of the people for a purpose clearly illegal. The persons who had called the meeting addressed a requisition numerously signed to the borough-reeve and constables, requesting them to convene a meeting at an early day 'to consider the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of obtaining reform in the Commons House of Parliament.' The magistrates, however, refused to comply with this request, and the leaders of the movement gave public notice that the meeting would be held on the day previously intimated.



The place selected for the meeting was a small piece of vacant ground, then on the outskirts of the town, but long since completely covered with buildings. It was in the vicinity of St. Peter's Church, and was known as St. Petersfield or Peterloo. It was on this spot that the meeting of the Blanketeers' was held in 1817. Hunt was invited and consented to take the chair, and it was understood that he was to have been chosen as the legislative attorney for Manchester if an election had taken place.

Great preparations had been made both in Manchester and in the towns and villages around to insure the success of the meeting, and deputations amounting to several thousands in number were appointed to attend and take part in the proceedings. On the other side, the magistrates, who were in a state of great excitement and alarm, were on the alert to preserve the peace and to protect the inhabitants from any outrage on the part of the multitude. A body of troops had at their request been sent to Manchester, the yeomanry of Lancashire and Cheshire were called out, and a large body of special constables sworn in for the occasion.

The mode in which the reformers of Middleton, under Bamford's personal guidance, proceeded to the place of meeting, may be regarded as a fair specimen of the whole. By eight o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 16th, the entire population of the town was astir. The persons, about 3000 in number, who intended to go to the meeting were drawn up in regular order, and were headed by twelve youths in two rows, each holding in his hand a branch of laurel, 'as a token of amity and peace.' There were two silk flags in the array, the one blue, the other green, bearing the inscriptions in letters of gold, 'Unity and Strength,' 'Liberty and Strength,' 'Liberty and Fraternity,' 'Parliament Annual,' 'Suffrage Universal,' and a cap of liberty was borne between them. The men marched five abreast, having a leader, bearing a sprig of

laurel in his hat, over every hundred, with superior officers similarly distinguished over them. Bamford himself walked at the head of the column, attended by a bugleman to sound his orders. Before setting out on their march to Manchester, Bamford formed them into a hollow square, and gave them a short address on the importance of their conducting themselves in a steady and becoming manner. He recommended them 'not to offer any insult or provocation by word or deed, nor to notice any persons who might do the same by them, but to keep such persons as quiet as possible; for if they began to retaliate, the least disturbance might serve as a pretext for dispersing the meeting.' He further informed them that the committee had laid down a rule forbidding any sticks or weapons of any description to be carried in the ranks; and if any had been brought, they must be at once laid aside. 'I may say with truth,' continues Bamford, 'that we presented a most respectable assemblage of labouring men; all were decently, though humbly, attired, and I noticed not one who did not exhibit a white Sunday's shirt, a neckcloth, and other apparel in the same clean, though homely condition.'

After this address from their leader, the Middleton reformers resumed their march at a slow pace. On their way they were soon joined by the Rochdale people, whose numbers were equal to their own; and as they proceeded, they received various other accessions to their ranks. Several hundreds of women, mostly young wives and girls, and even a number of children, accompanied them, dancing to the music, and singing snatches of popular songs. Processions from other towns and villages had reached Manchester before them, marching in similar array, with banners and music. The members of the Lees and Saddleworth Union were under the leadership of Dr. Healey, the quack doctor, who walked in front of a black flag, on which was inscribed, in staring white letters, 'Equal Representation or

Death; 'Love,' with two hands joined and a heart. 'The idea,' says Bamford, 'of my diminutive friend leading a funeral procession of his own patients—such it appeared to me—was calculated to force a smile even at that thoughtful moment.' An immense multitude had by this time assembled in St. Peter's field, and by one o'clock the whole space was completely occupied with at least 50,000 or 60,000 men. At this hour, Hunt himself appeared on the scene, seated, along with a number of friends, in an open barouche, preceded by a band of music and flags flying, and was hailed by one universal shout from the vast concourse. 'They threaded their way slowly past us and through the crowd,' says Bamford, 'which Hunt eyed, I thought, with almost as much of astonishment as satisfaction.' 'The Orator' proceeded to the temporary hustings erected upon two waggons, and prepared to address the meeting.

Meanwhile the magistrates were in a state of great uneasiness and anxiety, and appear to have been quite at a loss what course to take. They had been at first inclined to prevent the meeting; but after some hesitation, they resolved that they would allow it to be held. They had in their possession warrants for the arrest of the leaders; but most injudiciously, for reasons which they did not attempt to explain, they resolved to defer the execution of the warrants until the people had all assembled, and the proceedings had commenced. They met in a house which adjoined and overlooked the place of meeting; and as soon as Hunt had taken his place on the hustings, they ordered Mr. Nadin, the chief-constable, to arrest him. Nadin, however, pointed out to them that it was utterly impossible for him to do so. Instead of delaying the execution of the warrant until the meeting had dispersed, the magistrates resolved to call in the military to enable the arrest to be made at once. They had at hand, besides 200 special constables, six troops of the 15th Hussars, a troop of horse artillery with two

guns, the 31st regiment of infantry, some companies of the 88th regiment, the Cheshire yeomanry, comprising between 300 and 400 men, who had arrived only that morning, and a troop of Manchester yeomanry, numbering about forty members. A letter was sent to the commander of the Manchester yeomanry, and another to Colonel L'Estrange, of the 31st regiment, who as senior officer was in charge of the troops, requiring them to come to the house where the magistrates were. The yeomanry arrived first at a brisk trot, and were received with a tremendous shout by the multitude. Hunt, when he saw them approach, assured the people that this was only a trick to disturb the meeting, and called upon them to stand firm and to give three cheers, which was done. The yeomanry, after halting for two or three minutes, drew their swords, and, waving them, attempted to penetrate the dense crowd; but they were speedily scattered, hemmed in, and brought to a stand. Matters were in this state when the hussars rode up. Sir William Jolliffe, who was a lieutenant of the cavalry regiment, says, when he came in sight, the yeomanry 'were scattered singly or in small groups over the greater part of the field, literally hemmed up and wedged into the mob, so that they were powerless either to make an impression or to escape; in fact, they were in the power of those whom they were designed to overawe, and it required only a glance to discover their helpless position and the necessity of our being brought to their rescue.'

Mr. Hulton, the chairman of the bench of magistrates, seems to have entirely lost his head at this juncture. He says he imagined that the yeomanry were completely beaten, though there is no evidence that a hand had been lifted against them; and when Colonel L'Estrange asked him what he was to do he exclaimed, 'Good God, sir, do you not see how they are attacking the yeomanry? Disperse the crowd.' The colonel at once obeyed the

order. The words 'Front' and 'Forward' were given, the trumpet sounded the charge, and the cavalry dashed into the defenceless crowd, making for the hustings where Hunt and the other leaders were stationed. No resistance was offered. 'The charge swept the mingled mass of human beings before it,' says Sir W. Joliffe. 'People, yeomen, and constables, in their confused attempts to escape, ran one over another, so that by the time we had arrived at the end of the field the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the ground. The hussars generally drove the people forward with the flats of their swords; but sometimes, as is almost inevitably the case when men are placed in such situations, the edge was used both by the hussars and, as I have heard, by the yeomen also.' When the cavalry had cleared their way to the hustings the commanding officer, brandishing his sword, told Hunt that he was his prisoner. Hunt replied that he would readily surrender to any civil officer who would show his warrant, and Nadin then took him into custody.

Bamford's description of the scene, as might be expected, gives a much more vivid view of the sufferings of the multitude, trodden and hewn down so suddenly and unexpectedly. He says, he 'called out "Stand fast" to those around him when he saw the troops charging the multitude, "they are riding upon us; stand fast."' 'And there was a general cry,' he adds, 'in our quarter of "Stand fast." The cavalry were in confusion; they evidently could not, with all the weight of men and horse, penetrate that compact mass of human beings, and their sabres were plied to hew a way through naked held-up hands and defenceless heads, and then chopped limbs and wound-gaping skulls were seen; and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion. "Ah! Ah!" "For shame! for shame!" was shouted. Then "Break! break! They are killing them in front and they cannot get away." And there was a general cry of "Break! break."

For a moment the crowd held back as in a pause; there was a rush heavy and resistless as a headlong sea, and a sound like low thunder, with screams, prayers, and imprecations from the crowd, moiled and sabredoomed, who could not escape. In ten minutes from the commencement of the havoc the field was an open and almost deserted space. The hustings remained, with a few broken and hewed staves erect, and a torn and gashed banner or two dropping; whilst over the whole field were strewn caps, bonnets, hats, shawls, and shoes, and other parts of male and female dress, trampled, torn, and bloody. Several mounds of human beings still remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered. Some of these still groaning, others with staring eyes were gasping for breath; and others would never breathe more. All was silent save these low sounds, and the occasional snorting and pawing of steeds. Persons might sometimes be noticed peeping from attics and over the tall ridgings of houses; but they quickly withdrew as if fearful of being observed, or unable to sustain the full gaze of a scene so hideous and abhorrent.'

Seventy injured persons were taken to the infirmary, of whom about thirty were suffering from sabre wounds; the others from contusions or fractures. Five or six individuals lost their lives, among whom was a special constable ridden over by the hussars, and one of the Manchester yeomanry, whose skull was fractured either by a blow from a brick-bat or by a fall from his horse caused by that stroke.

The Manchester magistrates seem at once to have had misgivings as to the step which they had taken, in ordering the soldiers to make an attack on an unarmed and peaceable meeting of their fellow-countrymen assembled to petition for an object strictly lawful and constitutional. They had certainly incurred a great responsibility, and had shown themselves sadly wanting in foresight and discretion, if not also in humanity. If they had regarded the

meeting as illegal they ought to have prevented it by issuing a notice to that effect, as they had done in the case of the meeting called to elect a legislative attorney. They might have arrested Hunt and the other leaders on their way to the meeting, or have deferred their arrest till the proceedings had terminated. Above all, there was nothing in the conduct of the Peterloo assemblage which threatened any disturbance or breach of the peace, and therefore no reason why it should have been dispersed by force, when numerous other meetings of a similar kind had been permitted without any evil results having taken place. It is quite evident, and, indeed, was virtually confessed, that after deliberating for two days they had been unable to form any definite plan of action, and had only resolved to wait till they should see what might happen. The sight of the immense multitude seems to have completely unnerved them. The order issued to the Manchester yeomanry, to walk their horses up to the hustings through the densely packed crowd, was foolish in the extreme. The fancied danger to the men isolated or scattered among the multitude evidently terrified their chairman almost out of his wits; and the command given to the soldiers to disperse the meeting was the result of the mingled trepidation and passion of a person manifestly unfit for the responsible position which he unhappily occupied at that crisis.

The magistrates were evidently uneasy as to the consequences of the course which they had followed so hastily and inconsiderately. They lost no time in despatching one of their number, accompanied by another gentleman, to London to lay before the Government their own version of the lamentable incident for which they were responsible. These deputies reached the metropolis on Wednesday (18th August), and a cabinet council was immediately summoned to hear their story. Eight out of fourteen ministers were still abroad, but, as Lord Eldon significantly remarks,

'in that there is no harm; the other six are fully as many as can actually converse upon any subject.' The Chancellor, as usual, was disposed to take high ground. He had still a hankering after the opinion he gave in 1794, when he conducted the prosecution of Hardy and Horne Tooke, and was signally defeated in his attempt to establish against them a charge of high treason. He endeavoured to persuade the other ministers present that the Manchester meeting was not only illegal, but treasonable. 'A conspiracy by force to make a change in either House of Parliament,' he said, 'manifested by an overt act, is treason.' Lord Redesdale, ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland, had no doubt on the subject. 'Every meeting for Radical reform,' he wrote, 'was not merely a seditious attempt to undermine the existing constitution and Government by bringing it into hatred and contempt, but it was an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against that constitution of Government, including the king as its head, and bound by his coronation oath to maintain it.' With these opinions before them, enunciated by such high legal authorities, it was natural that the law officers of the Crown should inform the ministers present 'that they were fully satisfied that the meeting was of a character and description, and assembled under such circumstances, as justified the magistrates on dispersing it by force.' Without further consideration Lord Sidmouth wrote with all haste to the Prince Regent, who was at this time (19th August) in his yacht at Christchurch, to inform him of the decision of the ministers; and his Royal Highness instantly conveyed his 'approbation and high commendation of the conduct of the magistrates and civil authorities at Manchester, as well as of the officers and troops, both regular, yeomanry, and cavalry, whose firmness and effectual support of the civil power,' he was pleased to say, 'preserved the peace of the town on that most critical occasion.' With equal precipitation the Home Secretary on the

21st addressed letters to the lords-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire (the Earls of Derby and Stamford), requesting them to convey to the magistrates of the two counties 'the great satisfaction derived by his Royal Highness from their prompt decision and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity.'

Lord Sidmouth's conduct in thus rashly, and with a very imperfect knowledge of the circumstances of the case, committing the Government irretrievably to the approval of the magistrates' conduct, has been severely and, indeed, is now almost universally, condemned. His biographer, who was well aware of this fact, has attempted to defend the conduct of the Home Secretary by a plea which simply amounts to this, that in order to secure the support of the magistracy throughout the country, it was necessary to vindicate their proceedings, whether right or wrong. 'Lord Sidmouth,' he says, 'was well aware that this proceeding would subject him to the charge of precipitation; but he was acting upon what he considered an essential principle of government—namely, to acquire the confidence of the magistracy, especially in critical times, by showing a readiness to support them in all honest, reasonable, and well-intended acts, without inquiring too minutely whether they might have performed their duty a little better or a little worse. So impressed was his lordship with the importance of this principle that he constantly declared in after life that, had the question recurred, he should again have pursued a course the policy of which was not less obvious than its justice. If, indeed, the Government had left these magistrates exposed to the storm of popular indignation until the verdict against Hunt and his associates in the succeeding year had demonstrated the legality of their conduct, the magistracy at large must, from the dread of abandonment, have failed in duty towards that royal authority which either could not or would not stand by them in the hour of peril; and thus, in all probability, the most

calamitous consequences would have ensued.'

The justification of the conduct of the magistrates turned entirely on the question, whether the meeting which they commanded the soldiers to disperse was legal or illegal. The confident opinion which Lord Eldon expressed on this point was based on the supposition that the meeting was treasonable. In a letter which he wrote at this period to his brother, Sir William Scott, he says, 'Without all doubt the Manchester magistrates must be supported; but they are very generally blamed here. *For my part, I think, if the assembly was only an unlawful assembly that task will be difficult enough on sound reasoning.* If the meeting was an overt act of treason their justification is complete. An unlawful assembly, *as such merely*, I apprehend, cannot be dispersed, and what constitutes riot enough to justify dispersion is no easy matter to determine.' In entire consistency with these views the Chancellor urged that Hunt and his associates should be indicted for treason, but the other members of the Cabinet prudently declined to follow his advice. Lord Sidmouth, four days after he had issued his cordial commendation of the conduct of the magistrates, informed the Regent that the evidence against the prisoners did not afford sufficient ground for proceeding against them for high treason, and the Ministry were compelled to withdraw the charge, and indict them for a conspiracy to alter the law by force and by threats. The meeting then, on Lord Eldon's own showing, must have been a perfectly lawful assembly.

It was evident at a glance, that if the principles on which the magistrates acted and which the Government commended were sound, the right of the people to hold meetings was completely abrogated. Lord Eldon, whose public speeches were not always quite in harmony with his private sentiments, in defending the magistrates in the House of Lords argued that 'numbers constituted force, and force terror, and terror illegality.' If the Chancellor's argument

was sound, it followed that every numerous meeting attended to petition for any reform in Parliament or for a redress of grievances was an illegal assembly, and every person present at such a meeting incurred the penalties of treason—a result which the Ministry desired, but durst not venture to avow. It need excite no surprise that the moderate and judicious supporters of the Government disapproved of proceedings which led to such consequences as these. ‘What do reasonable people think of the Manchester business?’ wrote Mr. Ward from Paris. ‘I am inclined to suspect that the magistrates were in too great a hurry, and that their loyal zeal and the *novu gloria in armis* tempted the yeomanry to too liberal a use of the sabre; in short, that their conduct has given some colour of reason to the complaints and anger of the Jacobins. The approbation of Government was probably given as the supposed price of support from the Tories in that part of the country.’

When such were the sentiments of the friends of the Ministry, their opponents could hardly fail to feel strong indignation at the countenance given to the authors of the ‘Peterloo massacre,’ as the attack on the Radical meeting was termed. Sir Francis. Burdett at once, in a letter addressed to the electors of Westminster, denounced the conduct of the Manchester magistrates in such unmeasured terms that the Attorney-General instituted proceedings against him on an *ex-officio* information for libel.

Undeterred by the tragical result of the Manchester gathering, the Reformers held meetings in the large towns, in every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of denouncing the conduct both of the magistrates and the Ministry. At some of these meetings the speakers appeared in deep mourning, and the flags were bordered with crape. On one was represented a yeoman cutting down a woman with his sabre. On another the word ‘Vengeance’ was inscribed. At the Birmingham meeting, which was attended by Sir Charles Wolseley, a kind

of funeral procession was exhibited. But though these manifestations of popular feeling must have been very galling to the ministers and their supporters, as there was no appearance of any disturbance or excitement to violence, no plea was afforded for any interference, on the part of the authorities, with the proceedings.

Subscriptions were opened in London and Liverpool for the purpose of relieving the sufferings of the wounded, and of obtaining legal redress against the Manchester magistrates and the yeomanry. The Duke of Hamilton, lord-lieutenant of the county of Lanark, sent a subscription of fifty pounds to the committee for the relief of the sufferers, accompanied by a letter, expressing his alarm at the manner in which the Manchester meeting had been forcibly broken up. Attempts were made to bring the perpetrators to justice. Indictments were presented against several of the yeomanry for cutting and maiming with intent to kill; but the grand jury of Lancaster threw out the bills. The juries who were summoned on the coroner’s inquests to inquire into the causes of the death of the unfortunate persons who had lost their lives at the meeting, carefully avoided expressing any opinion condemnatory of the magistrates or the yeomanry. Their verdict in some cases was ‘Accidental death.’ In one, on a child, ‘Died by a fall from his mother’s arms.’ In another, ‘Died by the pressure of the military, being under the civil power.’ The attempt to institute judicial proceedings on such verdicts as these was, of course, unsuccessful.

The decisions of the Lancashire authorities, who were regarded as interested persons, availed little to diminish the disapprobation of the country or to strengthen the hands of the Ministry. More full information respecting the circumstances of the assault of the military on the defenceless operatives, and the conduct of the magistrates, served only to increase the public excitement and indignation. The

Common Council of London held a meeting on the 9th of September for 'the purpose of considering the late transactions at Manchester, and the steps to be taken in consequence.' After a keen debate resolutions were adopted, by a majority of seventy-one to forty-five, declaring that the Manchester meeting was legally assembled; that its proceedings were conducted in an orderly and peaceable manner; and that the people comprising it were therefore acting under the sanction of the laws, and entitled to the protection of the magistrates. The conduct of the magistrates and the military was condemned in the strongest terms as 'unprovoked and intemperate, highly disgraceful to the character of Englishmen, and a daring violation of the British constitution;' and the Regent was entreated to institute an inquiry into the outrages that had been committed, and to cause the perpetrators to be brought to signal and condign punishment. An address, founded on these resolutions, was presented personally by the Common Council to the Prince Regent. His Royal Highness was advised, not very judiciously, to reply in angry terms, imputing to the Common Council ignorance of the circumstances which preceded the Manchester meeting, and incorrect information respecting the incidents which occurred at it. Such a rebuke was not calculated to allay the public agitation, and the example set by the metropolis was quickly followed by Norwich, Westminster, York, Bristol, Liverpool, Nottingham, and other large towns; and the Ministry came in for a full share of the censure pronounced upon the magistrates, on the ground that the royal sanction had been given by their advice to such illegal and violent proceedings. A number of county meetings also were held, the most important of which was the assembly of the freeholders of Yorkshire, called by a requisition to the high-sheriff, and held at York on the 14th of October. The meeting was attended by 20,000 persons, including the leading Whig landowners of that great county, among

whom was Earl Fitzwilliam, lord-lieutenant of the West Riding, who had also signed the requisition to the sheriff. The resolutions passed at it expressed no opinion respecting the conduct of the Manchester magistrates or the military, but merely petitioned for inquiry. The Ministry, however, were greatly alarmed at the countenance given to the meeting by Lord Fitzwilliam. His lordship was the head of an ancient and powerful family, had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1795, and was one of the wealthiest noblemen in the kingdom, having inherited not only the family estates of the Fitzwilliams in Northamptonshire and Ireland, but also (through his mother, the heiress of the marquis of Rockingham) the extensive possessions of the Wentworths in Yorkshire. He was one of the most influential leaders of the Whig party, and was personally popular among all classes of the community. The Ministry were both alarmed and angry at the indication thus given that the Whigs intended to take the question at issue out of the hands of the Radicals, but at the same time, as Brougham expressed it, to 'avow their determination to stand by the constitution, and to oppose all illegal attempts to violate it.' At the instigation of Lord Sidmouth, the Cabinet resolved promptly to mark their displeasure at Lord Fitzwilliam's conduct, and he was immediately dismissed from the office of lord-lieutenant of the West Riding—a high-handed proceeding, which did not tend to diminish their unpopularity in the country.

The 'Peterloo Massacre,' as it was termed, produced a deep and permanent effect on the public mind, and formed a marked epoch in the history of the protracted struggle for parliamentary reform. Great irritation was produced among the lower classes, and anxiety as to the consequences was felt by the leaders of the Whig party, who dreaded that Government would take advantage of the excitement and of the fears of the higher classes to propose measures for the restric-

tion of popular liberties. 'Indignation meetings' continued to be held in rapid succession by the working-classes in all the manufacturing districts, at which resolutions were passed denouncing the conduct of the Government in no measured terms. But it is an instructive fact that the authorities did not venture to follow the example of the Manchester magistrates, except in the single case of a meeting held on a moor, near Paisley, on the 11th of September. The sheriff of Renfrewshire, and the provost and magistrates of Paisley thought fit to issue a proclamation denouncing the intention of bands of persons from different quarters to pass through the town, on their way to and from the proposed meeting, 'with flags and devices of a political and inflammatory nature,' and warning all who should take part in such 'illegal' proceedings that they would be held responsible for their conduct. Of course, no attention was paid to this injudicious and uncalled for edict, and the Reformers, on their return from the meeting, marched through the High Street of Paisley with flags displayed and a band of music playing. The magistrates ordered the banners to be seized. A violent disturbance in consequence broke out; lamps and windows were broken, special constables maltreated, and the sheriff and provost and magistrates, whose foolish conduct had caused the riot, were roughly handled by the mob. In the end the military had to be called out to clear the streets and suppress the disturbances, which was fortunately effected without any loss of life, though several persons were severely wounded.

Meanwhile the Ministry were in a state of great apprehension and perplexity. They saw clearly that the existing laws were powerless to suppress the meetings of the Reformers, and they dreaded a union between the Whigs and the Radicals for the overthrow of the Government. 'The Opposition,' wrote Lord Eldon to his brother, 'are now fools enough to think that they can overturn the Administration with the help

of the Radicals, and that they can then manage the Radicals; and this is the game they will play in Parliament. The insane, however, can only play such a game and think of winning. They may turn out the Administration—that's likely enough; but it will work their own destruction if they do it in connection with the Radicals.' The choice, in the Chancellor's estimation, lay between allowing the country to become 'a land of anarchy, in which it would be impossible to exist,' or passing such laws as would make it 'a land of necessary tyranny, in which existence would not be to be wished.' 'Nothing but Parliament,' he adds, 'can attempt a remedy for present evils. Whether that attempt will succeed I know not; but if Ministers will not try it they ought to make way for other Ministers who either will try it or some other measure which may occur to them, and does not occur to me.' 'We are in a state,' he writes, on another occasion, 'in which we must make new laws to meet this new state of things, or we must make a shocking choice between military government and anarchy.' The Home Secretary was quite as much an alarmist as the Lord Chancellor, and as eager to try the effect of new legislation. On the 26th of September he wrote to Lord Eldon, 'Even your letters, though they justify and sanction, could not strengthen my conviction that the law with respect to the points to which you have particularly referred cannot be suffered to remain as it is.' 'The laws are not strong enough for the times,' he wrote again; 'but they must be made so, if it were meant to afford the country a reasonable hope of permanent tranquillity.' These sentiments were re-echoed by Lord Redesdale, who recommended that a declaratory law should be passed 'to remove all doubt of the treasonable criminality of such assemblies' as the Manchester meeting. The sagacity of Lord Brougham led him to anticipate that the Government would adopt this policy. 'I have little doubt,' he wrote to Earl Grey, on the 24th of October, 'that they seriously



and desperately intend to change the Government into one less free. I should say they did so, if they passed laws restricting meetings and the press. Nor would it stop there.'

Lord Sidmouth was so eager to get repressive measures passed, that early in September he suggested to Lord Liverpool that Parliament should be convened as soon as possible, in order, as he said, that 'the laws might be strengthened and the military force of the country augmented without delay.' The premier, however, did not approve of the proposal, and on the 21st of September the Cabinet decided against it. But the hostile movements in the large towns and in counties made them alter their views, and at another meeting on the 18th of October they resolved to issue an order for the assembling of Parliament on the 23rd of November. The energy and decision which characterized the proceedings of the Ministry at this period presented a marked contrast to their previous feeble and hesitating policy, and made Brougham write to Earl Grey, 'These strange things are plainly none of Lord Liverpool's doings; I see Wellington in them.' There can be little doubt that this conjecture was well founded. The duke had shortly before the events narrated returned to England, and had entered the Cabinet as Master-General of the Ordnance.

The allied sovereigns had stipulated, at the downfall of Napoleon, that in order to prevent a recurrence of the desolating war which had been terminated by the victory of Waterloo, an army of occupation, consisting of 150,000 men, should be maintained in France at her own expense for the space of five or, if necessary, of seven years. The Duke of Wellington was intrusted, by common consent, with the command of the force charged with this critical duty. If the duke had been actuated by a regard to his private interests he would have recommended the maintenance of this arrangement to its full extent; for his emoluments were very large,

and his position was exceedingly influential and honourable. Most of his colleagues, Austrian, Prussian, and Russian, were decidedly in favour of the strict enforcement of the contract. But after the lapse of three years Wellington felt satisfied that the occupation of the French soil by foreign bayonets was no longer necessary, and recommended that they should be withdrawn. A congress was accordingly held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the autumn of 1818, for the purpose of deciding this question. It was attended by the ministers of the several powers, including the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh as the representatives of Great Britain. The Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia also took part in the proceedings. After two preliminary conferences it was finally and unanimously agreed, on the 2nd of October, that the evacuation should take place as speedily as possible. A week later a formal treaty was drawn up and signed, in which it was settled that the army of occupation should be withdrawn by the 30th of November, and the sum remaining to be paid by France of the indemnity stipulated by the treaty of 20th November, 1815, was fixed at 265,000,000 francs. It was acknowledged on all hands that it was mainly owing to the exertions of the Duke of Wellington that the objections made to this satisfactory arrangement were obviated, and the difficulties which arose in carrying it out were smoothed away. 'Sufficient justice,' says a French historian, 'has not generally been done to the Duke of Wellington for the liberal and faithful manner in which he protected the interests of France throughout all the negotiations with foreign powers. The duke was highly favourable to France in everything that related to the evacuation of her territory. His position as generalissimo of the army of occupation gave a great weight to his advice on this question. He was consulted at every step, and his opinion was always given in terms expressive of an elevation of view and sentiment which did honour to

his character. With the cessation of the armed occupation the duke was to lose a great position in France—that of generalissimo of the allied powers—and one which made him in some sort a member of the Government. He was to sacrifice also an appointment of immense pecuniary value; moreover, his Grace knew the personal opinion of Lord Castlereagh and of a large portion of the English aristocracy to be that the continuance of the armed occupation was necessary. All these interests did not check him. He was of opinion that this measure of precaution should cease, seeing that not only had France duly discharged the stipulated payments, but that her government appeared to present the character of order and duration. This opinion was most influential at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Congress did not break up till the middle of November, and before separating the members signed, on the 15th of that month, a 'Declaration,' in which they referred to the treaty of the 9th of October as the accomplishment of the work of peace, and declared that their union had no other object than the maintenance of peace, and that its 'fundamental basis was their inviolable resolution never to depart, either among themselves or in their relations with other states, from the strictest observance of the principles of the rights of other nations.' The treatment which the people of Spain and Naples received from the members of the Holy Alliance shows the real value of these declarations, and how widely their practice differed from their professions.

So expeditiously was the evacuation carried out, that the time fixed for it was anticipated by about a month. The Duke of Wellington reviewed the troops for the last time at Sedan about the end of October, and took leave of them in an order of the day dated, from his head-quarters at Cambray, on the 7th of November. It was impossible, he said, for him to take leave of the troops which he had had the honour to command, without returning thanks to them for their

good conduct during the whole time they had been under his charge. If the evacuation of the country was to be carried out in a satisfactory manner, the result was largely due to the conciliatory behaviour of the generals, the good example they had shown to their subordinate officers, and the strict discipline they had always enforced. It was with sentiments of regret that he had seen the moment arrive that was to terminate his public connection and private relations with the officers which had been so advantageous to himself, and he begged the generals commanding-in-chief to make known to their respective contingents the assurance that he should never cease to take the most lively interest in anything that might concern them, and that he would always cherish the remembrance of the three years during which he had the honour to be at their head.

The Ministry in their tottering condition saw clearly that the accession of the Duke of Wellington would contribute not a little to strengthen their hands, and raise them from the feeble and contemptible state into which they had fallen. Accordingly, while his Grace was still attending the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle they offered him the office of Master-General of the Ordnance, with a seat in the Cabinet. Immediately after his return to England in December, 1818, after the breaking up of the army of occupation, the duke took his place as a member of Lord Liverpool's administration. Strengthened and encouraged by the presence of this powerful auxiliary, the ministers ventured to convene Parliament at this unusual period, and to ask from it stringent powers of repression.

Parliament was opened by the Prince Regent in person, on the 23rd of November, with a speech which clearly foreshadowed the nature of the coercive measures that the Government intended to propose to 'check the dissemination of the doctrines of treason and impiety.' In both Houses the Opposition moved amendments to the address, and debates of great keenness and unusual length

ensued. Earl Grey, who moved the amendment in the Upper House, denounced in indignant terms the policy of the ministers who, instead of searching out and striving to remove the causes of the existing discontent and to relieve the people from the heavy burdens that pressed upon them, had recourse to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the suppression of public meetings by the sword, and other stringent coercive measures. Where discontent generally prevailed, he said, there must be much distress, and there never was extensive discontent without misgovernment. Lord Bacon had said that the surest way to prevent seditions is to take away the matter of them; but the Government, in spite of the most urgent warnings and remonstrances, had persisted in adding largely and needlessly to the public burdens, and had aggravated instead of alleviating the sufferings of the people. After condemning the precipitation with which the Manchester magistrates had acted and the 'flippant and impertinent' answer which had been given by the Regent to the address from the City of London, his lordship animadverted in indignant terms on the dismissal of Lord Fitzwilliam, on whom he pronounced a glowing eulogium as 'a man who had been distinguished by his public and constant support of the Crown in every trying difficulty—a man of high rank, extensive influence, and princely possessions—a man beloved and esteemed—a man who, from his particular situation, afforded security to the Government, and firmness and confidence to the people.' The defence of the Ministry against this formidable attack devolved on the Home Secretary and the Lord Chancellor. The former said he would 'boldly take upon him to assert that the Manchester meeting was not only illegal, but treasonable;' and that 'the magistrates would have acted not only unwisely, but unjustly and basely, had they done otherwise than they did.' Lord Eldon again, though, as we have seen, he had repeatedly admitted to his brother that the

meeting could not be proved to be unlawful, yet now declared that 'when he read in his law-books that numbers constituted force, and force terror, and terror illegality, he felt that no man could say that the Manchester meeting was not an illegal one.' The Prime Minister, like the Home Secretary, affirmed that the meeting was not only illegal, but treasonable. He made no attempt, however, to explain, since this was his opinion, how he accounted for the fact that the Government withdrew the charge of treason which they had brought against Hunt and his associates, and substituted for it a charge of sedition. The amendment was of course rejected; it received only 34 votes against 159 who opposed it.

A debate still more keen and protracted took place in the Commons on an amendment proposed by Mr. Tierney, and seconded by the Marquis of Tavistock. The principal speakers in its support were Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Scarlett, Lord Nugent, Mr. Grey Bennet, and Mr. Brougham; while the Ministry and the magistrates were defended by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Bootle Wilbraham, Mr. Stuart Wortley (who was severely and deservedly chastised by Mackintosh), Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Canning. The speeches of Canning and Brougham, who closed the discussion, were distinguished for their remarkable argumentative power and eloquence. The amendment was negatived by 381 votes to 181.

Supported by their large majorities, the Government lost no time in bringing forward the coercive measures of which they had given notice. No less than four bills were introduced in the Lords on the 29th of November. The first, by the Lord Chancellor, was 'An act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in the cases of misdemeanor.' It had for its object to prevent delays in trials for misdemeanor, by taking away from defendants the power of postponing their pleas to the term or session subsequent to that on which the information had been filed, or the indictment found against them. The incon-

venience which was thus sought to be remedied had previously attracted the attention of the Chancellor, and he had at a former period intimated his intention of proposing such a measure on general grounds. But as it was introduced in connection with the other restrictive acts, and was auxiliary to them, it was classed in the same category. It was due at this time to the position in which Hunt and his associates were placed. If they had been indicted for treason—the charge on which they were committed—their trial must have taken place immediately. But, as Lord Grenville remarked, ‘an indictment found for a conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force may be traversed by the defendant like the smallest misdemeanor. That traverse adjourns the case from July to April; the prisoner is then released on bail, and it will be little less than nine months from the date of the accusation that the king and the prisoner will have justice done to them upon it.’ ‘Such a judicial proceeding,’ he adds, ‘may operate for vengeance; it can never operate for prevention.’

There can be no doubt that these remarks were well founded, and that the defect pointed out in the mode of conducting judicial proceedings required to be remedied. But there was a much more serious defect which the Government chose to overlook, as its effect was most injurious to the rights, not of the prosecutor, but of the accused. The Attorney-General had at this time the power to lodge an *ex-officio* information against an accused person, without taking any immediate steps to bring him to trial. This power had often been grossly abused. Sir Vicary Gibbs, as we have seen, when Attorney-General, had loaded the files of the court with *ex-officio* informations, most of which were never brought to trial, but were kept suspended for years over the heads of his unfortunate victims. His successors appear to have walked closely in his footsteps. Lord Holland had repeatedly brought this flagrant grievance under the notice of Parliament. but

without effect. On the second reading of the Misdemeanor Bill, he renewed his exposure of this unjust system, and stated that ‘there were at present forty informations depending, some of which had been hanging over the parties accused for one, two, three, four, and even for ten years.’ He was powerfully supported by Lord Erskine and Earl Grosvenor; and though Lord Liverpool made a feeble attempt to defend the existing system, by alleging that the Attorney-General could be impeached if he abused his powers, the Lord-Chancellor admitted that the practice was indefensible, and agreed to Lord Holland’s suggestion, that a clause should be added to the bill, enabling a defendant, against whom an information should have been filed *ex-officio*, to compel the Attorney-General to bring on the trial of his case within a year, or to abandon the prosecution. The bill with this addition became law.

On the same day on which the Misdemeanor Bill was laid before the Lords, three others were introduced by Lord Sidmouth, entitled severally, ‘An Act to prevent the training of persons to the use of arms and to the practice of military evolutions and exercise;’ ‘An Act for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels;’ and ‘An Act to authorize Justices of the Peace, in certain disturbed counties, to seize and detain arms collected and kept for purposes dangerous to the public peace; to continue in force until the 25th of March, 1822.’ On the 3rd of December Lord Castlereagh brought into the Lower House a bill entitled, ‘An Act to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers, and to make other regulations for restraining the abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels;’ and on the 17th of that month the Home Secretary introduced in the Lords a Bill entitled, ‘An Act for more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies; to continue in force until the end

of the session of Parliament next after four years from the passing of the Act.'

These 'Six Acts,' as they were termed, were not all equally objectionable. The Misdemeanor Act in its ultimate shape was a judicious measure, though, as originally introduced, it was defective and in some points objectionable. The Military Training Bill was really necessary for the public safety, and is still the law of the land; but the other four bills received and deserved the most strenuous resistance. The Seizure of Arms Bill met with comparatively little opposition, in consequence of the foolish and unfounded boast of Watson and other Radicals, that several hundred thousands of their aiders and abettors were about to rise in arms. The bill to prevent seditious and blasphemous libels, however, was most strenuously resisted by Earl Grey, Lord Erskine, Lord Holland, and the Duke of Sussex. The bill, when a bookseller was convicted of selling a libellous book, authorized the seizure of the entire work; and a second conviction was to be punished by banishment or transportation. It was urged, of course in vain, that the existing law was quite adequate to deal with any abuses of the press; that the offence of publishing a libel is, more than any other known to our law, undefined and uncertain. Publications which at one time may be considered innocent, and even laudable, may at another be thought deserving punishment. Thus, the author and publisher of any writing dictated by the purest intentions on a matter of public interest, without any example to warn, any definition to instruct, or any authority to guide him, may expose himself to the penalty of being banished from the United Kingdom, and all other parts of His Majesty's dominions, for such time as the court shall order, or be transported to such place as shall be appointed by His Majesty for the transportation of offenders, for any term not exceeding seven years. It was also argued that the bill was inconsistent with the policy of the law

of the country, was a most dangerous invasion of the just freedom of the press, was subversive in one of their main defences of the rights and liberties secured to the nation by a long succession of ages, and at length asserted, declared, and established by the Revolution of 1688. The opposition to the measure was so strong, especially in the Commons, that the Government were compelled to make the concession of withdrawing the punishment of transportation from the bill, and leaving banishment alone as the penalty for a second offence. This concession, however, did not remove the strong objections entertained against the measure. No right-thinking person could be unwilling that the scurrilous and offensive, if not seditious publications of that day, should be suppressed and their authors punished; but there was only too much reason to believe that the Ministry, under cover of taking the proper steps against these publications, would seriously interfere with the liberty of the Press. They had, however, completely overshot the mark, and never ventured to enforce the provisions of the Act which they had with so much difficulty constrained the legislature to adopt. The feeling of the Government towards the Press was made still more manifest by their 'Seditious and Blasphemous Libels Bill,' which enforced a stamp duty on all small pamphlets, evidently with the hope that such publications as *Cobbett's Register* would in consequence be obliged to be discontinued. The leading members of the Opposition in both Houses expressed in the strongest terms their condemnation of this policy, and the speeches of Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Brougham, in vindication of the liberty of the Press, were especially cogent in argument and eloquence; but the Government measure, notwithstanding, became law.

The most stringent and objectionable of these coercive measures was the bill which regulated and restricted the right of holding public meetings. It did not interfere with meetings of counties called by the

Lord-Lieutenant or Sheriff, or with meetings of corporate towns called by the mayor or other first magistrate, or with meetings called by five or more Justices of the Peace. But it prohibited all meetings for the consideration of grievances in church and state, or for the purpose of preparing petitions, &c., except in the parishes where the individuals usually reside. None but residents in the parishes were allowed to attend such meetings; and as an additional restriction to prevent simultaneous meetings, it was enacted that 'previous notice must be given of the day when such meetings are to be held by seven inhabitants to a neighbouring magistrate,' who was authorized to put off the meeting if he should think proper to do so. The bill encountered a determined opposition in all its stages. The unconcealed object of the measure was to restrict the right of holding meetings to the upper classes, and to allow the lower classes to attend meetings only in their own parishes. In plain terms, though the right of meeting was still to be conceded, it was to be made of no value. The country was in a state of distress and suffering; the persons who were affected by the pressure of the times were in a state of penury and privation, and naturally desired to meet in large bodies to petition for redress; and the Government turned short upon them and said, 'No, you shall not meet, because you are poor. You shall not meet, because you are the portion of the people who are most likely to be distressed. You shall suffer, but you shall not have the privilege of complaining.' The bill was so framed as to inflict an additional hardship, as Mr. Brougham pointed out, on such large towns as Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, and other wealthy and populous places. They were then unincorporate, and therefore 'excluded from the advantages reserved for other, decayed and comparatively unimportant, places. The chief magistrates of those towns which were corporate would be, under the bill, com-

petent to convene a meeting. But such important places as those he had mentioned could have no meetings.' They had been persistently denied direct parliamentary representation, and they were now to be deprived of the only means which they enjoyed of making known their opinions and wishes. The Government, however, refused to make any concession. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the restriction in question, though they made no attempt to defend it, was in their estimation a most valuable feature of the bill.

If the Opposition had presented a united front to the Government at this juncture, it is possible that they might have been able to modify to a considerable extent, if not to defeat, the worst of these coercive measures; but the divisions in their own ranks rendered them powerless. Lord Grenville, who as the colleague of Mr. Pitt had supported the repressive measures of that minister at the close of last century, still approved of a restrictive policy as the proper remedy for popular discontent, and his followers in both Houses of Parliament voted at every stage in favour of Lord Castlereagh's 'Six Acts.' The upper classes throughout the country were in a state of great alarm, and clamoured loudly for coercive legislation.

The excesses of Hunt and his associates had disgusted all right-thinking persons of both parties and of all classes, and the publications which issued from the Radical press at this time were wholly indefensible. 'The Radicals,' wrote Lord Brougham, 'have made themselves so odious, that a number, even of our own way of thinking, would be well enough pleased to see them and their vile press put down at all hazards.' In the difficult position in which the Opposition were placed, Lord Brougham strongly recommended that some steps should be taken to silence the cry against them that they were countenancing Radicals, and to assist them in fighting against the repressive measures of the Government. The more I see and hear,' he wrote Earl

Grey, 'the more I conceive some clear, short, and firm declaration of the party necessary, separating ourselves (without offensive expressions) from the Radicals, and avowing our loyalty, but, at the same time, our determination to stand by the constitution, and to oppose all illegal attempts to violate it, and all new laws to alter its free nature. . . . Happening to see the Dukes of Kent and Sussex, they both asked anxiously if the party were not disposed to make some such avowal; and on my saying I expected to hear on the subject from you, they both desired me to express to you their willingness to sign anything we all agreed on; the Duke of Kent added that he had no wish to put himself forward as a party man, but that the late measures, and particularly Lord Fitzwilliam's dismissal, alarmed him extremely, as indicating evil designs; and that he thought the only means of preventing anarchy and the overthrow of the constitution, was the firmness of such a body as the Whigs in resisting *all* attacks on it; and therefore he desired to sign some such declaration, and should delay his leaving town for that purpose, and to express his opinion shortly in Parliament.' Both royal dukes indeed cordially supported the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lords Holland, Grey, and Erskine, and the other leaders of the Opposition in the Upper House, in their resistance to the coercive policy of the Government, and their names appear, not only in the list of the minority, but were repeatedly attached to the protests against the passing of the most obnoxious of the 'Six Acts.' The liberal section of the Opposition, though quite aware that in these circumstances the contest was hopeless, fought the battle of constitutional freedom with indomitable courage and perseverance, and resisted the restrictive measures at every stage. But the ministers, confident in the number of their supporters, and encouraged by the approbation of the Grenvillites, would make no concession. 'I see, on the part of the Government,'

said Mr. Tierney in the House of Commons, 'an evident determination to resort to nothing but force; they think of nothing else; they dream of nothing else; they will try no means of conciliation; they will make no attempt to pacify and reconcile; force, force, force—and nothing but force.'

Parliament adjourned on the 29th of December, 1819, to the 15th of February, 1820, having devoted the entire session to the discussion and adoption of a series of measures, which, short-lived as it was, have earned for it an unenviable distinction in the history of our country.

Before Parliament assembled again an event took place which, if it had occurred twenty years sooner, would, in all probability, have exercised a great influence on the interests of our country and of Europe. Shortly after midnight, on the 29th of January, the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's announced to the citizens of London that George III. had passed away, in the eighty-second year of his age and sixtieth of his reign. Though the aged monarch had for ten years lived in a state of complete seclusion, blind, deaf, and insane, it was not without emotion that the nation received the tidings of his death. He had outlived the unpopularity of his early years; and now that his reign had come to an end, the people of all classes were disposed to dwell, not on the perversity and obstinacy which had led to the sanguinary contest with our American colonies, and their separation from the mother-country, or on his treatment of Ireland, and his most unwise and unconstitutional contest with John Wilkes and other demagogues, but on the private virtues of their late sovereign, and on the sufferings which had clouded his closing years. They remembered that his domestic life had been pure and exemplary, that he was assiduous in the discharge of the duties of his high office, frugal in his habits, simple and affable in his demeanour, kind to his dependents, and charitable to the poor—that his piety, though narrow, was sincere, and

that his private life had throughout been consistent with his creed. At the same time, though the victories won by his subjects after he had virtually ceased to reign, had cast into the shade the vicissitudes of his earlier years, it cannot be denied that the personal character of George, or its bearing on the welfare of the country, was the reverse of beneficial. His intellect was narrow, and his disposition obstinate and implacable; and unfortunately both for himself and his subjects, his early training had done nothing to remedy these defects. The Princess Dowager, his mother—widow of Frederick Prince of Wales, his father—a woman of neither knowledge, accomplishments, nor abilities, had utterly neglected the education of her son; and her favourite, Lord Bute, to whom she had confided his tuition, had taken no pains to impart to him a knowledge of literature or science, or of those branches which were absolutely necessary to the right discharge of the duties of a sovereign. The Princess Dowager had, however, constantly impressed upon him a high notion of his royal prerogative, and had contributed not a little to strengthen that dogged self-will which was one of the most mischievous defects of his character. So long as his ministers were willing to obey his orders, and to carry out the policy which he dictated, he treated them with the utmost kindness, and gave them his entire and hearty support. But 'the instant that his prerogative was concerned, or his bigotry interfered with, or his will thwarted, the most unbending pride, the most bitter animosity, the most calculating coldness of heart, the most unforgiving resentment took possession of his whole heart, and swayed it by turns.' He disregarded both the claims of friendship and the ties of blood when they came into collision with the maintenance of his power or the success of his policy, and was quite unscrupulous in the means which he took to carry out his schemes. He repeatedly threatened to abdicate his throne during the contest with the American colo-

nists, rather than submit, as he said, 'to be trampled upon by his enemies.' And at a critical period, when his prime minister urged upon him a junction with the Whig party, he said, 'If the people will not stand by me they shall have another king, for I will never set my hand to what will make me miserable to the last hours of my life.' He never forgot an injury, real or fancied, or any act of opposition to his will.

The death of the aged monarch had been preceded by that of his fourth son, Edward Augustus, the Duke of Kent, who died on the 23rd of January, in the fifty-third year of his age. He was an honourable, generous, and noble-hearted man, and was regarded by the general public with greater favour than any of his brothers, some of whom were detested, and the rest only tolerated. He was educated partly at a military academy in Luxemburg, partly at Hanover and at Geneva. In 1790 he was sent to join his regiment at Gibraltar, and in the following year accompanied it to Canada. Soon after he took part in the expedition against the West India islands belonging to France, and behaved with great courage at the siege of Fort Royal in Martinique, and at the attack upon St. Lucia and Guadalupe. In 1796 he was made governor of Nova Scotia, and three years later was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in British America. His residence abroad during these critical years of his life fortunately preserved him from the temptations which ruined the characters and fortunes of his brothers, and kept him aloof from the dissolute society which they delighted to frequent.

In 1800 he was compelled to return home in consequence of ill health. In 1802 he was nominated governor of Gibraltar; but his strictness and severity in enforcing discipline made him unpopular among the troops, and his efforts to promote reforms in the garrison, and to check the drunkenness and licentiousness which prevailed among them at that time, excited a mutiny



and led to his recall. He spent the succeeding thirteen years in England; but mismanagement and extravagant expenditure involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, which seemed to have become chronic in the royal family, and in 1816 he quitted England and took up his residence on the Continent, in order that he might retrench his expenses and live in a manner more suitable to his resources. Even after his marriage, which took place in May, 1818, he continued to live in the simple and economical style of a private gentleman of limited means. He returned to England in 1819; and soon after the birth of his daughter, our present sovereign, he took a cottage in the neighbourhood of Sidmouth, where he died, 23rd January, 1820, after a short illness, the result of a severe cold, which brought on inflammation of the lungs. His death caused general regret in the public, who regarded him as the truest and best of the sons of George III., and were aware that, notwithstanding his embarrassed circumstances, he was always open-hearted and generous in assisting charitable and benevolent objects.

It could scarcely be expected that the coercive measures of the Government would have the effect of allaying the discontent of the working classes, suffering from want of employment and of adequate wages, aggravated by their belief that their distress was mainly owing to excessive and unnecessary taxation, imposed for the maintenance of a large military establishment, and of sinecure places and pensions. The 'Six Acts' compelled them to alter the mode of their agitation, but served only to stimulate their exertions to obtain a reform of Parliament and the establishment of universal suffrage. Their operations had become all the more dangerous, however, that they were now carried on in secret. There is no reason to suppose that the working classes as a body cherished any illegal or revolutionary designs; and, indeed, the failure of the spies employed by the Government to excite any general insur-

rectionary movements in the manufacturing and mining districts of the country, shows that the great body of the operatives were sound at heart. But there were among them some men of a different character, desperate and reckless, who were prepared to go all lengths in revenging themselves on the Ministry and overturning the constitution. At this period a plot, which had been formed by some persons of this class, was brought to light, and excited great alarm and terror throughout the whole community. The leader of the gang was Arthur Thistlewood, who had taken a prominent part with the Watsons in the Spa-Fields riots. He was the son of a land-steward in Lincolnshire, had been a lieutenant in a militia regiment, and had afterwards exchanged into a marching regiment, which he accompanied to the West Indies. There he resigned his commission, and went first to America, and thence to France, where 'he became initiated in all the doctrines and sentiments of the French Revolutionists.' After the peace of Amiens he returned to England, and having, by his profligate habits, been reduced to abject poverty, he in some way obtained admission to the fraternity of the most violent Radicals. He was, as we have seen, one of the leaders of the mob in the Spa-Fields riot; and after the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in 1818, he was committed to prison. On his release, he had the folly and insolence to send a challenge to Lord Sidmouth, for which he was prosecuted and (28th May, 1818) sentenced to a year's imprisonment. His sentence expired at the critical period when Birmingham was about to elect a legislative attorney, and preparations were making for the Manchester meeting. Thirsting for vengeance on the Home Secretary, Thistlewood gathered around him a band of ignorant and desperate men, of whom Ings, a butcher, Tidd and Brunt, journeymen shoemakers, Adams, a disbanded soldier, and Davidson, a man of colour, were the most prominent members. They resolved to attempt the assassination

of the Ministry, and would have done the deed at once but for various circumstances, such as the dispersion of the members of the Cabinet at Christmas, the death of the Duke of Kent and of the king, and the royal funerals, which made it difficult to strike the blow. The conspirators had fancied that a favourable opportunity to make themselves masters of London and plunder the shops would occur at the interment of King George on the 16th of February, when, as they supposed, the greater number of the troops would be withdrawn from the metropolis to attend the ceremony at Windsor. This expectation, however, was disappointed; and owing either to the sanguinary brutality of Thistlewood's uneducated associates, or, as it was alleged, to the instigation of a spy, who had been enrolled in the ranks of the conspirators, it was resolved to put to death the whole of the Cabinet ministers, each in his own house, to set fire to the cavalry barracks, to seize the Mansion-house, the Bank, and the Tower, and to establish a provisional government.

The folly of the conspiracy was equal to its atrocity. It was quite possible that Thistlewood and his associates might have succeeded in assassinating the ministers, but to expect that some thirty obscure and penniless individuals, without friends or resources, could succeed in overturning the Government was little short of insanity. Their designs, however, were almost from the first made known to the Ministry. As early as November a man of the name of Edwards, a poor and penniless creature, who kept a small shop at Eton for the sale of plaster casts, and was one of the conspirators, gave information of their plans to the Home Office. He was immediately taken into the pay of the Government, and day by day betrayed the proceedings of his comrades to his paymasters. Thistlewood and his associates affirmed that Edwards took an active part in instigating their criminal project, and there can be no doubt that he furnished them with the information on

which they acted. On the 22nd of February he told them that there was to be a Cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor Square next day, on which Thistlewood remarked, 'as there has not been a dinner so long, there will no doubt be fourteen or sixteen there; and it will be a rare haul to murder them all together.' It was arranged that one of the gang was to call at the house, under the pretence of delivering a letter, while the ministers were at dinner. His companions were then to rush in at the open door and seize and bind, or, in case of resistance, kill the servants and secure the entrance, while a select band of fourteen were to proceed to the room where the ministers were assembled and put them all to death. Hand-grenades were also to be thrown in at the windows in order that, in one way or other, their destruction might be secured.

Another of the conspirators, named Hidon, a cowkeeper, had also made Lord Harrowby aware of the details of the plot, and all necessary preparations had been made by the Cabinet to defeat it and capture the plotters. It was resolved to go on with the preparations for the dinner just as if there had been no intelligence of the atrocious project. The ministers, however, after dining at home, assembled at Fife House, Lord Liverpool's residence; but as the Archbishop of York, who lived next door to Lord Harrowby, happened to give a dinner that evening, the conspirators who were appointed to watch the house to see that no police or soldiers were brought there, were under the impression that the carriages which set down the guests at that prelate's house were conveying the ministers to the residence of their colleague. Thistlewood and the rest of his accomplices had meanwhile met in a loft above a stable in Cato Street, off the Edgeware Road, waiting the signal for the attack. Warrants had been granted for their apprehension; a body of police were appointed to make the arrest, and a detachment of soldiers was ordered to assist them. The troops,

however, through some mismanagement failed to appear at the appointed time, and the police officers attempted to make the arrest without them. They mounted the ladder which led from the stable to the loft where the conspirators were engaged in arming themselves, and called on them to surrender. Smithers, one of the police officers, was stabbed to the heart by Thistlewood; the lights were blown out, several shots exchanged, and in the darkness and confusion the greater part of the conspirators made their escape. The soldiers at length arrived, and assisted in capturing the remainder of the party—nine in number—along with their arms and ammunition.

Thistlewood succeeded in forcing his way into the yard, and thence into the street, before the arrival of the military; but he was apprehended in bed next morning in the house of a friend in Moorfields, and his principal associates were arrested soon after in various places. A special commission was appointed for the trial of the prisoners, which commenced on the 17th of April, and lasted three days. Five of them—Thistlewood, Brunt, Ings, Tidd, and Davidson—were found guilty and sentenced to death. They were hanged and then beheaded on the 1st of May. Five more, who withdrew their original pleas and admitted their guilt, were condemned to transportation for life. The atrocious character of their crime deprived them of all public sympathy, and they had no powerful body of accomplices to attempt their rescue. The discovery of this foul conspiracy excited mingled horror and apprehension throughout the whole country. Something like a national panic ensued, and credit was given to the wildest and most improbable rumours that a general insurrection of the working classes was about to take place; that the large towns and the mansions of the nobility and gentry were to be burned down, and the throne overturned. But the most diligent inquiries of the Government failed to discover any ramifications of the conspiracy, or to lead

to the belief that the conspirators had any accomplices beyond the metropolis. It transpired that Thistlewood had a short time before his arrest made a tour through the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland, but without receiving any encouragement to undertake an illegal project or engage in deeds of violence. Much to his disappointment and indignation the respectable portion of the working classes, amid all their distress and discontent, refused to have anything to do with schemes at once so horrible and so foolish as those which Thistlewood was planning. 'No one,' he said, 'who was worth ten pounds was worth anything for the good of his country.' The result of the Cato Street conspiracy was most injurious to the liberal cause, and the flagitious project of these vindictive and worthless desperadoes contributed not a little to strengthen the hands of the Government, and to induce the people to acquiesce even in the arbitrary and oppressive provisions of the 'Six Acts.'

On the day after the execution of Thistlewood, Alderman Wood brought the conduct of Edwards the spy, and his intercourse with the ministers, under the notice of the House of Commons; and on the 9th of May he moved that a select committee should be appointed to inquire into the conduct of this acknowledged traitor. It was not denied that Edwards had taken part in the Cato Street conspiracy, that 'straw was his resting place, his only covering a blanket,' at the time he gave information respecting the schemes of his confederates; but Wood adduced depositions taken before him in his office as a magistrate, to show that Edwards was soon after well dressed and in possession of a sum of money sufficient to enable him to lend Thistlewood some pounds; that when the plot was approaching maturity he had been living for several weeks in affluence, under a fictitious name, in comfortable lodgings in St. George's, Hanover Square; that he was the instigator of the plot, had

supplied money and weapons, and had endeavoured to persuade various persons to join the conspiracy for the destruction of the ministers and of the House of Commons. The alderman complained that Edwards had not been arrested as an accomplice in the plot, or even brought forward as a witness in the trials of the conspirators. The ministers, as might have been expected, refused to take any steps to bring Edwards to justice, and their supporters defended the course they had followed in dealing with that person. One member affirmed that 'spies were absolutely necessary to any good government.' Another denied that Edwards had ever been employed by the Ministry as a spy. It was only as a voluntary informer that he had communicated with Lord Sidmouth, and supplied the information which enabled the Home Secretary to defeat the plot. A third abused Alderman Wood for the steps he had taken in this case, and ridiculed the idea that the Government would proceed against Edwards on the depositions of men who had failed in their duty by not giving information respecting the nefarious designs which had been revealed to them. The motion for the appointment of a select committee was negatived, and Edwards from that time disappeared, but was believed to have spent the remainder of his dishonourable career in ease and affluence in Ireland or on the Continent.

It transpired that, after the plot of Thistlewood and his accomplices had been made known to the Government, an associate of Oliver the spy appeared in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and endeavoured to persuade the discontented operatives there to engage in the conspiracy; and he affirmed that other agents were going about the country with the same commission. The nefarious efforts of the scoundrel, however, met with no success. The scheme was too atrocious and too foolish to receive any support even from starving workmen. There can be no doubt that a considerable number of spies

were dispersed at this time through the disaffected districts; and there is every reason to believe that the partial risings which took place in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and excited great alarm among the upper classes, were fostered and encouraged, if they were not wholly planned, by these emissaries. An incident which occurred in Glasgow, before the trial of Thistlewood and his associates, was traced to this most discreditable source. The Lanarkshire weavers and miners had for some time been suffering great distress; and advantage was taken by some worthless demagogues of the discontent which the privations of these classes had produced, to denounce in violent terms the conduct of the aristocracy and the Government, and to raise an agitation in favour of annual parliaments and universal suffrage. Great consternation in consequence prevailed among the landed proprietors and the manufacturers and merchants, who were induced to believe that Glasgow was the hot-bed of an atrocious conspiracy to overthrow the Government, dethrone the king, and subvert the constitution.

While public feeling was in this excited state, on Sunday, the 2nd of April, a violent and treasonable proclamation was found affixed to the walls in different parts of the city and the neighbourhood. It professed to be issued 'by order of the committee of organization for forming a provisional government.' It spoke of the sufferings endured by the working classes, the state in which they had been sunk for many years, and 'the contempt heaped upon their petitions for redress,' which had at last compelled them to seek it at the hazard of their lives. It called upon 'the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland to come forward and effect a revolution by force, and exhorted the soldiers to keep in mind the glorious example of the Spanish troops.' It recommended the manufacturers to suspend their works till public order should be restored, and commanded the workmen to desist from labour from that day forward. It

urged the people to take up arms for the purpose of redressing their wrongs and regenerating their country, and denounced as enemies to the king and traitors to the nation all who should resist the intended regenerators of their native land.

The proclamation was at first generally regarded as genuine, and excited great alarm. Reports to the same effect, and no doubt proceeding from the same source, were industriously circulated that the working classes in England were already in arms; that an army of 50,000 men were coming from France to their assistance; that a detachment of 5000 was to take possession of Glasgow, seize its banks, its excise and custom houses, and establish a provisional government for Scotland.

On Monday morning the magistrates, who were in a state of great consternation, issued a proclamation ordering all shops to be shut at six o'clock, and the inhabitants to retire to their houses not later than seven in the evening—enjoining all strangers to withdraw from the city before that hour, and declaring that all groups of persons standing together or walking on the streets after that hour would be dealt with as disturbers of the peace. A body of regular troops was hastily collected and marched into the city, and a corps of volunteers, nearly 1000 strong, were also called into active duty. On Tuesday another proclamation was issued by the magistrates, denouncing the treasonable address of Sunday, and declaring 'that the whole military power of the district would be employed in the most decisive manner against all those coming forward to aid and assist a rebellion;' and 'the consequences,' it was added, 'will be on the heads of those who have seduced and misled the inhabitants, and fatal to all who continue to oppose and resist the overwhelming power at our disposal.' The proclamation of the magistrates had the effect of at once restoring public tranquillity. It afterwards transpired that the anonymous document was the work of one of the spies who

infested the west of Scotland at this time, and that he had bribed an apprentice of the name of Fulton to print it. The lad was immediately after despatched to America, in order that he might not be brought to give evidence against his employer.

The panic caused by this forged proclamation extended not only over the mining and manufacturing districts of the west, but even to Edinburgh. The magistrates were forced to believe that an army of 40,000 or 50,000 radical weavers were on their march from Glasgow to seize the castle and the banks, and to establish a provisional government. The Midlothian cavalry were marched in the middle of a winter night to the supposed head-quarters of insurrection. The volunteers were called out and appointed to take charge of the castle, in order that the garrison might be employed on active service. All loyal citizens were invited to assemble in arms, and several thousands of them complied with the invitation. For several hours they remained in a state of anxious expectation, until the real state of matters was made known.

The false alarm, ridiculous as it was in itself, had unfortunately a tragic side. About a hundred of the poor, ignorant, starving weavers and mechanics were induced by the treacherous persuasions of spies, and the harangues of demagogues, to set out on their march to Falkirk, armed with pikes, guns, and pistols, to seize the cannon at the Carron Ironworks. A smaller body of the same class were persuaded to proceed to Strathaven, about sixteen miles from Glasgow, in order to meet Marshal Macdonald, who was said to be on his march to Glasgow at the head of a powerful force, brought from France to assist the people of Great Britain to vindicate their just claims. Both bodies implicitly believed that England was already in a state of insurrection, and that a good many thousands of English radicals were on their march to assist the Scottish operatives in obtaining their rights.

The proclamation had been posted, under cloud of night, at Strathaven, as well as at other places in the district. A weaver of the name of Wilson, belonging to that village, had been persuaded by a spy named Shields, but who assumed various designations, to march at the head of twenty or thirty persons of the same class towards Glasgow, under the assurance that a provisional government had already been established there. They carried with them an old tattered flag, with the words inscribed on it, 'Scotland free, or a desert,' and had an old tin kettle for a drum. The spy contrived to slip away after they had marched a short distance from Strathaven, and his ignorant and deluded victims, suspecting that they had been misled, retraced their steps and returned home. Wilson, however, had scarcely reached his own house when he was apprehended and carried to prison.

The party that had set out for Falkirk met with a much more disastrous fate. They were guided by a spy named King, who, however, quitted them by the way; and travelling all night they reached, on Wednesday morning, an upland heath called Bonnymuir, not far from Kilsyth, where they halted and lay down to rest on the heather. Their numbers had now dwindled down to about thirty, and feeling utterly disheartened, and seeing no appearance of the promised aid from England, they resolved to return home. At this juncture one of the Stirlingshire yeomanry came up, and they stopped him and demanded his weapons. Some shots were exchanged, and the man returned to Kilsyth and reported what he had seen to his commanding officer. A detachment of eleven soldiers belonging to the 7th regiment of Hussars, and an equal number of yeomanry, were immediately despatched

to scour the road. On their approach the handful of radical weavers, though destitute of proper arms or ammunition, boldly offered battle to the royal troops. Forming themselves into a square, they repelled with their pikes for a brief space the attacks of their assailants, but they were speedily overpowered, and nineteen of them were taken prisoners. No lives were lost on either side, but a number of the insurgents and the commanding officer and three of his men were wounded. The prisoners were conveyed to Stirling Castle, and on the 24th of June a royal commission was issued for their trial on a charge of treason. They were all found guilty and sentenced to death, but only two—John Baird and Andrew Hardie—weavers were executed on the 8th of September. Wilson, the Strathaven weaver, who was advanced in life, and in dotage, was tried on the 20th of June and found guilty, and was hanged at Glasgow on the 30th of August. All three declared that they had no intention of committing treason, but that their sole object was to reform the constitution of the country, and to vindicate the rights of the people.

While the Cato Street conspirators were lying in prison, Hunt and his associates were brought to trial and found guilty of sedition. Hunt was sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment, and had, at the expiration of that term, to find securities for good behaviour for five years—himself for £1000, and two other persons for £500 each. Johnston, Healy, and Bamford were sentenced to one years imprisonment. Each of them had to find sureties for their good behaviour for five years—themselves for £200, and two other persons in £100 each. Sir Charles Wolseley and Harrison received eighteen months imprisonment, and had also to find securities.

## CHAPTER XII.

Accession of George IV.—His dangerous illness—His desire to Divorce his Queen—Her Career—The King orders her name to be omitted from the Liturgy—Her return to England, and enthusiastic reception by the People—The Bill of Pains and Penalties—The Queen's Trial before the House of Lords—Examination of Foreign Witnesses for the Prosecution—Brougham's Speech on the Milan Commission—Denman's summing up for the Defence—The Pains and Penalties Bill abandoned—Great Rejoicings at its Failure—The Queen goes to St. Paul's to return thanks for her Deliverance.

THE death of George III. made only a nominal change in the Government. For eight years his son and successor had exercised all the powers of royalty, and now became king in name as he had long been in reality. There was no uncertainty as to the result of George IV.'s accession to the throne. His character for extravagance, self-indulgence, and immorality was notorious; and now that he was nearly sixty years of age, there was very little probability of any change for the better in his habits. The public seem, therefore, to have regarded his assumption of the regal title and position with utter indifference, knowing as they did that there would be no alteration either in the policy or in the members of the Government. But they were startled to learn that it was more than probable that the new king would never enter upon the duties or enjoy the privileges of his position. At the meeting of the Privy Council, which took place on Sunday, the 30th of January, when George IV. declared his accession and took the oaths, he was evidently unwell; and next day, when he was proclaimed, his physicians expressed their uneasiness respecting the illness under which he was suffering—acute inflammation of the lungs. For upwards of a week he was in a state of imminent danger; it seemed highly probable that he would be only mocked with the gift of a crown, and that his reign would be the shortest in the history of Great Britain. But the natural strength of a constitution originally vigorous had not yet been wholly exhausted, and the malady of the sovereign yielded by degrees to the

prompt and energetic remedies employed by his physicians.

It soon became painfully evident that his dangerous illness, though it had brought him face to face with death, had exercised no beneficial influence on his character, for his first act on his recovery was to enjoin the premier to prepare, without delay, a bill of divorce against the queen, and his next to command the Archbishop of Canterbury to omit the prayer for her in the Liturgy. The desire to get rid of his wife was not entertained now by the king for the first time. On the 1st of January, 1818, only eight weeks after the death of the Princess Charlotte, he wrote from Brighton to the Lord-Chancellor—'You cannot be surprised if I turn my whole thoughts to the endeavouring to extricate myself from the cruellest as well as the most unjust predicament that even the lowest individual, much more a prince, ever was placed in, by unshackling myself from a woman who, &c., &c. Is it, then, my dear friend, to be tolerated that . . . is to be suffered to continue to bear my name, to belong to me and to the country, and that *that* country, the first in all the world, and myself its sovereign, are to be expected to submit silently to a degradation under which no upright and honourable mind can exist.'

The deliberations of the Cabinet on this urgent appeal resulted in their sanctioning a commission to Milan, where the princess was then residing, to investigate the reports which were in circulation respecting her conduct—a most unwise step, which after-

wards cost them dear. Having yielded so far to the wishes of the king, he naturally expected that they would prove equally complaisant when he commanded them to prepare a bill of divorce. But Lord Liverpool saw clearly the danger of this procedure, and refused to obey. The king was very angry at this refusal, and reiterated his orders in the most peremptory manner. The Cabinet held repeated meetings and long deliberations, pointed out to His Majesty the impolicy of the course on which he was insisting, and the scandal which it was certain to create; but all in vain. They at last proposed a compromise, and meanly offered, contrary to immemorial practice, to consent to the omission of the queen's name from the Liturgy, on condition that no penal proceedings should be instituted against her. Canning, indeed, explicitly declared that 'he could not have agreed to the omission of her name, if any penal process of whatever kind had been in contemplation.' In the hope that this arrangement would propitiate the king, the ministers at once adopted a minute, ordering the Liturgy to be altered, and the name of the queen to be omitted. His Majesty was not satisfied with this decision of his ministers; and he informed them that, if they were not prepared to accede to his wishes, he was determined to dismiss them from office. On Sunday, 13th February, Lord Sidmouth, apologizing to Lord Talbot for delaying to write him, said—'If you knew how the day was passed, you would not be surprised at the omission. The Government is in a very strange, and, I must acknowledge, in a precarious state.' On that day the Cabinet sat for thirteen hours, and did not break up till two o'clock on Monday morning. There was a general report that ministers had resigned. 'I consider the Government as virtually dissolved,' wrote Lord Castlereagh, 'and that the existing ministers only hold their situations till their successors are named.' It was reported, according to Grenville, that 'His Majesty treated Lord Liverpool very

coarsely, and ordered him out of the room. The king, they say, asked him if he knew to whom he was speaking. He replied, "Sir, I know that I am speaking to my sovereign, and I believe I am addressing him as it becomes a loyal subject to do." To the chancellor he said, "My lord, I know your conscience always interferes, except where your interest is concerned." The king afterwards sent for Lord Liverpool, who refused to go; but afterwards, on the message being reiterated, he went, and the king said, "We have both been too hasty." There is no doubt that the king found that no set of public men could be found to replace his ministers on condition of giving the pledge which he demanded, and the Cabinet ultimately induced him to retract his threats, and to agree to a compromise. If the queen would consent to remain abroad, no steps were to be taken against her; but if she should return to England, proceedings would be instituted to procure a divorce.

It is evident that the ministers, in proposing this arrangement, were ignorant both of the real character of the queen and of the state of public feeling in regard to her husband, as they found to their cost. The king's treatment of her, indeed, from the time she first set foot in England down to that hour, had been not only one continued and gross violation of the ordinary rules of morality, but of the dictates of honourable feeling, and indeed of common decency. The princess herself said, with justice, that when he married her he was the husband of another woman. In his twentieth year he fell desperately in love with Mrs. Fitzherbert, the daughter of a private gentleman of the name of Smith, and the widow of Colonel Fitzherbert. It is an indisputable fact that the prince was secretly married to this lady, and as she was a Roman Catholic, he by this act forfeited his succession to the throne; but so strong was his attachment to Mrs. Fitzherbert at this time, that he declared to some of his bosom friends that he would resign



his pretensions to the crown and go abroad with a small competency rather than separate from her. A rumour that the heir to the throne was married to an 'obscure Papist' was widely circulated and believed, and was even referred to by Pitt in the discussion on the prince's debts in the House of Commons in April, 1787. The prince on this authorized Fox to contradict the allegation in the strongest and most explicit terms; and in order to appease Mrs. Fitzherbert's indignation at this falsehood, he had the effrontery to pretend to her that he had never given Fox authority to make any such contradiction. This dishonourable conduct naturally excited the deepest indignation in Fox's mind, and was never forgotten by him. The dissolute habits and reckless extravagance of the prince speedily involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, though, when he came of age, he had entered on a clear income of £62,000 a year, and received from Parliament a grant of £60,000 to start him in life and pay off the debts he had contracted during his minority. Three years afterwards his father settled on him an additional £10,000 a year; and yet, in 1794, when he was only in his thirty-second year, Parliament had to vote the enormous sum of £650,000 to pay the debts which he had accumulated in little more than ten years.

Marriage seemed the only way in which it was possible for him to be extricated from his pecuniary embarrassments; and his father had long been anxious that his son should form a suitable alliance, in the hope that it might reclaim him from his dissolute habits. But to the prince himself, matrimony was most unpalatable. He had before this time become tired of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and had formed a succession of illicit connections, which had contributed not a little to petrify his feelings, and to render him averse to the restrictions of domestic life. But finding that there was no other way of escape from his difficulties, he expressed his submission to the wishes

of his father, and consented to marry any lady whom the king might select for him. The choice of the king fell upon his own niece, the Princess Caroline, second daughter of the reigning Duke of Brunswick, the generalissimo of the Austrian and Prussian allied armies in their invasion of France. She was at this time in the twenty-seventh year of her age, and had, as Lord Malmesbury describes her, 'a pretty face, not expressive of softness; her figure not graceful; fine eyes, good hand, tolerable teeth, but going; fair hair and light eye-brows, and good bust.' His lordship, who was commissioned to ask her in marriage for the Prince of Wales, was not favourably impressed with the arrangements of the ducal household, or the mode in which the younger members of the family had been trained. The duchess, who was the eldest sister of George III., seems to have been a vain, silly, and loquacious woman, who 'talked incessantly' of her daughter's future expectations. 'If the education of the princess,' the envoy said, 'had been what it ought, she might have turned out excellent; but it was that very nonsensical one that most women receive—one of privation, injunction, and menace.' Her father admitted 'that his daughter writes very ill and spells ill, and he was desirous that this should not appear.' 'She is no fool,' he said; 'but she has no judgment.' He entered fully into her future situation, and was perfectly aware of the character of the prince, and of the dangers to which, both from his disposition and her own, she would be exposed. Lord Malmesbury states that both he and Sir B. Boothby entertained similar apprehensions. 'We regret,' he said, 'the apparent facility of the Princess Caroline's character—want of reflection and *substance*; agree that, with a *steady* man, she would do vastly well, but with one of a different description there are great risks.' Her natural abilities were good; and if they had been properly cultivated, and the levity and impulsiveness of her disposition corrected, she might have been saved from

the worst misfortunes and greatest sufferings of her unhappy life. But she had not even been instructed to pay proper attention to the cleanliness and tidiness of her person, and Lord Malmesbury was obliged to ask a lady to explain to the princess 'what a neat toilet is.' 'She neglects it sadly,' he said, 'and is offensive from this neglect.' 'It is remarkable,' he adds, 'how amazingly on this point her education had been neglected, and how much her mother, although an Englishwoman, was inattentive to it.'

In all probability the inattention of the princess to this essential duty produced an unfavourable impression upon the Prince of Wales at their first interview, though his own behaviour on that occasion was wholly unbecoming the character of a gentleman or of a person of proper feeling. The princess kneeled when he was introduced to her, as Lord Malmesbury had instructed her to do. He raised her 'gracefully enough,' says his lordship, 'and embraced her, said barely one word, turned round, retired to a distant part of the apartment, and, calling me to him, said, "Harris, I am not well; pray, get me a glass of brandy." I said, "Sir, had you not better have a glass of water?" Upon which he, much out of humour, said with an oath, "No; I will go directly to the queen;" and away he went, leaving his betrothed bride 'in a state of astonishment,' and anxiously asking whether the prince was always like this. It is alleged that he had vowed to Lady Jersey, his favourite at this time, that he would insult and degrade his wife, as a proof of his affection for his mistress, and he certainly kept his word. The marriage ceremony took place three days after, and his behaviour on that occasion showed clearly both his own character and his real feelings towards the woman whom he solemnly vowed to love and cherish. The courtly Lord Malmesbury states that 'the prince was very civil and gracious; but I thought I could perceive he was not quite sincere, and certainly unhappy; and as a proof of it, he had manifestly had recourse to wine

and spirits.' The princess herself declared, in plain terms, that 'he was drunk on his wedding day,' and there can be no doubt of the truth of her assertion. The two unmarried dukes, who according to custom supported his Royal Highness during the ceremony, said he was so intoxicated that he could scarcely stand.

Nine months after the marriage the Princess Charlotte, the only child of this ill-matched pair, was born. But before that period it was matter of notoriety that the prince utterly neglected his wife, and that from the first he had never respected her rights nor regarded her feelings. With an almost studied disregard, not only or right feeling, but even of the very appearance of common decency, he thrust his mistress, Lady Jersey, into his wife's household, and kept her there as his ally in misconstruing all the words and actions of the princess, in spite of her earnest and repeated complaints against this treatment. After permission to reside for a few months, nominally, under the same roof, but without enjoying any other rights of a wife, the princess was compelled to leave her husband's house, and received from him a document, which has been justly termed 'a letter of licence,' informing her that this separation must be considered as for life. The princess retired to a villa near Charlton, while the prince indulged in the most reckless and open manner in the vices and follies which had disgraced his youth. She was protected by the old king as long as he retained his senses, but the queen took the part of her son, and showed from the first, by every means in her power, her dislike to her daughter-in-law. The great body of the aristocracy held aloof from the princess, but she collected about her an exceedingly agreeable and accomplished society. Brougham says that he often met Canning there, along with his friend, Charles Ellis, and Granville Levison, Sheridan, Whitbread, Byron, Lawrence, Rogers, and Luttrell, were among Her Majesty's frequent guests. Lady Charlotte Lindsay and her

sister, Lady Glenbervie, were among her ladies—'both, like all the North family, persons equally agreeable and clever.' Sir Walter Scott was introduced to her when he visited London in 1806, and in a letter to George Ellis he says, 'She is an enchanting princess who dwells in an enchanted palace, and I cannot help thinking that her prince must labour under some malignant spell when he denies himself her society.' Sir Walter sent her a copy of the Introduction to the third Canto of *Marmion*, in which occurs the tribute to her Royal Highness' heroic father—mortally wounded at Jena—a tribute so grateful to her feelings that she herself shortly after sent the poet an elegant silver vase as a memorial of her thankfulness. Scott, however, with his characteristic good sense, observed with much regret the careless levity of the princess' manner as likely to bring the purity of heart and mind, for which he gave her credit, into suspicion. For example, when in the course of the evening she conducted him by himself to admire some flowers in a conservatory, and the place being rather dark, his lameness occasioned him to hesitate for a moment in following her down some steps which she had taken at a skip, she turned round and said, with mock indignation, 'Ah! false and faint-hearted troubadour! you will not trust yourself with me for fear of your neck!' Her conduct was meanwhile closely watched by the prince. Brougham affirms that 'every one was aware that all temptations were thrown in her way to seduce her from her conjugal duty,' and her imprudent conduct in adopting a boy only a few months old, the son of Sophia Austin, the wife of a sailmaker at Deptford, led to a secret inquiry into her conduct in 1806. The Whigs, then in office (the Ministry of 'All the Talents'), were the personal friends of the Regent, and they were ordered to appoint a secret tribunal, composed of the Lord Chancellor Erskine, Lord Spencer, and Lord Ellenborough, to conduct 'the delicate investigation,' as it was termed,

which terminated in her triumphal acquittal of the charges brought against her. Romilly, who was present as counsel for the prince at the examination of the witnesses, expresses in the most decided terms his conviction, and that of the commissioners, that these charges were false, and adds, 'the evidence of all the servants as to the general conduct of the princess was very favourable to her Royal Highness.' At the same time the commissioners reported that her levity and thoughtless mode of behaviour 'deserved the most serious consideration.'

The Tories at this time espoused the cause of the princess, merely, as they subsequently showed, as a political manoeuvre to annoy the Prince Regent and his Whig friends; and Mr Perceval wrote in her name a letter addressed to the king, as an answer to the report of the four Lords of the Privy Council, and a justification of her conduct. Romilly, who saw a copy of the letter, says, 'the pleading is conducted with great art and ability. It is manifestly intended to be published, and is likely when published to make a strong impression in favour of the princess.' The letter was printed, under the superintendence of Perceval, with a view to its publication. The change of administration, however, in 1807, rendered the publication unnecessary to the men whose object it was to make the transactions the means of bringing odium on their political opponents. The pamphlet was therefore suppressed. Some copies of it, however, surreptitiously got into the hands of different persons; and the editor of a Sunday newspaper having given notice in a very mysterious way that he would publish it, he was prevented only by an injunction of the Court of Chancery, granted on the 11th of March, 1808, upon a private hearing by Lord Eldon in his own room. Another copy of the letter, and of all the documents connected with 'the delicate investigation,' was stolen off Perceval's table one day, and he had to pay bribes to the extent of £10,000 before he could be

sure of its being suppressed. Some information as to these proceedings, however, transpired, and contributed not a little to excite a strong feeling in favour of the princess, and to increase the unpopularity of her abandoned and worthless husband.

In 1814, when the allied sovereigns visited England, the prince did his utmost to prevent them from paying any attention to the princess, though with some, as the King of Prussia, she was nearly connected by marriage, and with others by blood. They gave frequent proofs that they bore no particular respect for the Regent, and on one occasion the Emperor of Russia could not avoid remarking to those about him, that the prince was tipsy, as, indeed, was often the case. His treatment of his wife, added to his openly immoral conduct, had made him so unpopular that he could scarcely venture to show his face in public. 'The poor prince,' wrote an eye witness, 'has got himself into such a scrape as no man of his rank ever was in before. It is a fact that he cannot show himself without being hissed and hooted. I have myself several times witnessed this within the last ten days. Unhappily the public are more and more exasperated against him. On Monday, as he was riding through St. James' Park to the review, the yells of the mob were so loud that they frightened his horse and he was very near thrown, with the King of Prussia by his side. As he was returning through the city they called out to him, "Where is Mrs. Wales? why is she not with you? George! where is your wife?" Decent people, of course, do not join in this expression of indignation; but I recollect no question upon which there ever was such complete unanimity. The most decided friends of the Court and of the Ministry abuse him. The wantonness and folly of the thing strike everyone.'

The prince prevailed upon his mother not to receive the princess at Court, on the plea that 'he considers that his own presence at her Court cannot be dispensed with, and that he desires it may be dis-

tinctly understood, for reasons for which he alone can be judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any condition, either in public or private.' This proceeding on the part of the queen was resented by the people to such a degree that she was not only assailed with yells and hisses, but was spit upon by the mob as she passed along the street. On her arrival at the palace, she complained of this treatment in her broken English, 'My Lords, I be fifty year and more in this country, and well respected, but now I be shspit on.'

The blunder of the prince was dexterously turned to advantage by the advisers of the princess. She addressed to him an able and indignant remonstrance against the treatment she had received at his hands, and reminded him that the time will come when he *must* meet her in public at their daughter's marriage and their own coronation—a statement which made the prince 'tremble in his shoes.' 'The Regent,' says Brougham, 'thought he had devised a cunning way of meeting the letter, of which he had intimation, on the princess requesting to know when and where it would be received. His difficulty was to answer it, and he made Liverpool state that all communications must be addressed to the Ministers; for that, as to the letter, he himself could neither receive nor read it. There could not be a greater mistake, indeed a more enormous blunder, than he and his advisers committed in this refusal. Of course, they must have presumed that the letter, though addressed to him, was much more intended for the public, unless a satisfactory answer should be given, and that nothing could possibly prevent its reaching the public but such an answer to the remonstrance as would place, or be universally believed to place, the princess and her advisers in the wrong. The refusal to read, or in any way to *entertain* the subject, gave us a complete right to publish, and to complain of the refusal as an aggravation of complaint. We published

it accordingly, and it was read and devoured by the whole country. I recollect no instance of such effects being produced by any statement of a case or appeal to the public upon a grievance. The impression made against the prince, and in favour of his wife and child, was universal and inconceivable, and the daughter was regarded as making common cause with the mother—at all events, as suffering under the same maltreatment. The men of Carlton House were undeceived too late, and any answer of an ordinary kind would now have proved unavailing. No defence was possible of the conduct pursued, and any extenuation of it, or even explanation, came too late.' An attempt at retaliation by publishing selected portions of the evidence taken in the Secret Inquiry of 1806, recoiled on their own heads, and only added to the unpopularity of the Prince Regent. Addresses were presented to the princess from the city of London and various other towns, and even some counties, congratulating her on this new defeat of her enemies, and condoling with her on the death of her mother, the Duchess of Brunswick and sister of George III.

Soon after the scene connected with the flight of the Princess Charlotte from Warwick House, and the prohibition of all attention, even of the most ordinary courtesy, from the allied sovereigns, the Princess of Wales, wearied out, as she said, by constant ill-treatment, and debarred from all intercourse with her daughter, resolved to leave England. The Princess Charlotte remonstrated so vehemently against this plan, that she and her mother had almost quarrelled about it. Whitbread, Brougham, and all her best friends, gave her the same advice, and warned her of the risks she would run. As long, they pointed out, as she remained in England, surrounded by her friends, and by English men and English women, and protected by English laws, she would be safe; no plot could succeed against her. But if she were to live abroad, surrounded by base spies and tools who would be always planted

about her ready to invent and to swear as they were directed, no one could say what would happen, especially after her absence should have lessened the number and weakened the zeal of her friends. These remonstrances, however, were without effect. With her characteristic self-will and obstinate adherence to her own plans, the princess persisted in her determination to go to the Continent, and would only promise that her stay there should not be long—a promise, however, which she did not keep. The result fully justified the fears and warnings of her friends.

When the princess left England, in the autumn of 1814, she was accompanied by Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Lady Elizabeth Forbes, and by Mr. St. Leger, Sir William Gell, and the Hon. Keppel Craven, her chamberlains, and by Dr. Holland, her physician. She had arranged, after visiting Brunswick, to proceed to Italy; and at Milan she engaged, on the recommendation of the Marquis Ghisilieri, the grand chamberlain of the Emperor of Austria, a person named Bartilomeo Bergami to act as her courier. For several years she led a wandering life, visiting the most celebrated places in Italy, Germany, Greece, and Sicily, and extended her travels even to Constantinople, Ephesus, Troy, and Jerusalem. The English members of her suite all left her before she had been a year in Italy, and she was consequently obliged to replace them with new servants belonging to that country. Bergami, who had for some months discharged the menial duties of a courier and valet, was promoted to the office of chamberlain, was presented with a considerable estate near Milan, which the princess purchased for him, and was treated by her with marked consideration. His brother, two sisters, cousins, and other members of his family, were also taken into the service of the princess. Her treatment of Bergami was without doubt exceedingly indiscreet and capable of a most unfavourable interpretation; and surrounded as she was from the first by

spies, who regularly reported to the Prince Regent all her imprudent and questionable actions, and put on them the worst construction, it need excite no surprise that her husband readily adopted the conviction that she had been unfaithful to her marriage vow. Depositions, taken by servants and other persons who had access to the princess in her travels, were forwarded to England and submitted by the Regent to his private confidential advisers. The chief of these was Sir John Leach, who had recently been promoted to the office of vice-chancellor through the personal influence of the prince, for whom he had abandoned the Whig party, to which he originally belonged. 'His talents,' says Romilly, 'are certainly very considerable. He has great facility of apprehension, considerable powers of argumentation, and remarkably clear and perspicuous elocution; but with all this, he is, of all the persons almost that I have known in the profession, the worst qualified for any judicial situation. He is extremely deficient in knowledge as a lawyer. In judgment he is more deficient than any man, possessed of so clear an understanding, that I ever met with. If ever he should be raised to any great situation, his want of judgment and his extraordinary confidence in himself will, I make no doubt, soon involve him in serious difficulty.' The result of the advice which Leach now gave the Prince Regent fully bears out the accuracy of Romilly's opinion of his character. He was well aware of the object on which the prince had set his heart, and he was bent on gratifying it by every means in his power, with the expectation of being rewarded for his services by promotion to the office of chancellor. In the autumn of 1817 the Regent laid before this most presumptuous and unsafe adviser 'a large mass of papers containing information from private and public sources with respect to the princess,' and desired a report upon them. Leach reported that the 'papers contained matter of grave and serious charge, and recommended that proper re-

searches should be made in the countries where the princess had resided, and through which she had travelled, for such further information as might exclude all doubt with respect to the character of her conduct.' A commission was accordingly issued, of which the Cabinet undertook to pay the expense. A couple of legal gentlemen, nominated by Leach, with the concurrence of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, were accordingly despatched to Italy, and 'placed in communication with the public authorities in the countries which they had occasion to visit.' They commenced their investigations at Milan in September, 1818, and on the 10th of July, 1819, they completed their report, which was immediately submitted to the Cabinet.

The Milan proceedings had meanwhile excited deep interest in England, and were almost universally condemned. The feeling in favour of the princess, which had been very strong before she left England, had subsided through her lengthened residence on the Continent; but it was now revived in consequence of these proceedings. It was strengthened by the mingled contempt and aversion entertained towards the Regent, and the conviction that if his daughter had lived he would not have dared thus to persecute her mother. Brougham re-echoed the general feeling on this point when he said, 'Even against Princess Charlotte standing alone, George IV. would scarcely have ventured to have instituted these proceedings; but against her, supported by Leopold, he would have found such a course *impossible*.' 'For Leopold,' he adds, 'of all men I have ever known, possessed every quality to insure success against such a man as George IV., and even against such ministers as had weakly, if not dishonestly, done his bidding in 1820.'

Negotiations had for some time been carried on in a sort of informal way, with a view of preventing the scandal which all men of sense foresaw, and all men of right feeling deprecated as the inevitable result

of any steps taken publicly against the princess. Brougham, who since the death of Whitbread had been her chief adviser, strongly recommended a compromise, to which she appeared to be not willing to accede. 'It was quite clear,' he said, 'that after her daughter's death she had given up all wish to return; but that the vexation of the constant spies she was beset by, and all the mean contrivances to lower her in the eyes of whatever Court she came near, had made her existence intolerable under this endless annoyance of every kind, and that she would be most happy if any arrangement could be made for her entire freedom from all vexation. Her wish was to take some royal title in the family, such as the Duchess of Cornwall, and having her income secured, to be recognized by our foreign ministers at whatever Court she might choose for a time to have her residence.' Brougham communicated this proposal in a written form to Lord Hutchinson, who was his political as well as personal friend, in order that he might submit it to the Regent, with whom his lordship was on intimate terms.

The Regent, however, had a different object in view. Strange to say, ever since the death of his daughter, the worn-out debauchee, now nearly sixty years of age, had desired to marry again, and a mere separation from his wife would not, of course, have left him at liberty to enter into another marriage. He therefore, two days after the date of Brougham's letter to Lord Hutchinson, 'again pressed on the ministers his desire for a divorce.' The ministers, however, were fully alive to the dangers of such a proceeding, and assured his Royal Highness that a divorce 'never could be accomplished by arrangement, nor obtained at all unless the guilt of the princess was substantiated by evidence before some tribunal in this country.' 'Such a proceeding,' they added, 'could not be instituted without serious hazard to the interests and peace of the kingdom. On the other hand, the separation which already

exists might be rendered complete by some arrangement upon the principles suggested.' Such an arrangement, however, did not suit the Regent's purpose; and as in his opinion the report of the Milan commission afforded 'the clearest and most decisive proof of guilt,' he reiterated his imperious demand for a divorce. The Ministry, thus importuned, replied to the prince in a very remarkable memorandum, which it would have been well for themselves, to say nothing of the country, if they had kept in mind. 'Considering,' they said, 'the manner in which a great part of this testimony has unavoidably been obtained, and the circumstance that the persons who afforded it are foreigners, many of whom appear to be in a low station in life, it would not be possible to advise your Royal Highness to institute any legal proceedings upon such circumstances of the witnesses by whom it is to be supported;' and that 'it appears to be more prudent to abstain from taking any further steps in the matter under all the present circumstances.'

The proposal of Brougham, and the counter proposition of the Prince Regent, were thus left in abeyance; and the affair might have remained long thus but for the death of George III, which roused both parties into action. The new king was determined that his wife should not receive the title of queen; and as a first step towards her degradation, he, as already stated, gave orders that her name should be omitted from the Liturgy. The Ministry unwisely and meanly agreed to the omission, with the understanding that no penal proceedings should be instituted against her, which, however, the king angrily repudiated. They had no suspicion of the effect which this act was to produce both on the queen herself and on the nation. The sympathy of the people was at once strongly excited by the exclusion of this poor persecuted woman from the public prayers of the church and the nation, which was subsequently deepened by the affecting remark of Mr. Denman, that she still had a place

in the Prayer-Book, in the prayer for 'all that are desolate and oppressed.'

The queen was at Rome when she received, through the medium of the newspapers, the intelligence of her father-in-law's death, and of the insult which had been offered to her by the Ministry. She suddenly found herself Queen without any arrangement whatever and under no conditions, and with no intimation of the intentions of the king and the Ministry regarding her future position. She demanded, as Queen of England, that a guard of honour should be stationed at the door of her palace; but Cardinal Gonsalvi, Secretary of State to the Pope, wrote, in reply to her chamberlain, that the papal government had received no communication on the subject from the King of England or his ministers; they had no official knowledge that the queen was in Rome; and that the guard, therefore, could not be granted. This conduct on the part of the papal ministers was believed to be owing to the influence of the Baron de Reden, the Hanoverian minister, who had publicly declared his resolution never to receive her as Queen of England, and who, it was believed, had been the means of subjecting her to similar insults from other Continental governments. On the 16th of March the queen wrote to Lord Liverpool to demand the insertion of her name in the Liturgy. By the same post which conveyed this demand, she sent another letter explanatory of her motives, which appeared in all the London newspapers. She set out for England about the middle of April. Her journey was not rapidly performed, for it was not till the 28th of May that she reached Montbard, in Burgundy, where she was joined by Alderman (ex-lord mayor) Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton, a sister of the Duke of Hamilton. Next day she wrote from Villeneuve le Roi to Lord Melville, first lord of the Admiralty, requesting that a royal yacht should be placed at her disposal to convey her and her suite across the Channel, and to Lord Liverpool, demanding that a palace might

be prepared for her reception on her arrival in London.

The queen had already despatched a courier from Dijon to Mr. Brougham, whom she had appointed her Attorney-General, desiring him to meet her at St. Omer, which she reached on the 1st of June. Brougham did not arrive till the 3rd. He was accompanied by Lord Hutchinson, who was understood to be the bearer of certain propositions from the king and the Ministry for a settlement of her case, resembling those formerly suggested by Mr. Brougham. But on being requested to state those propositions in writing, his lordship requested time to look over 'several papers which contain the intentions of the Government,' and also to wait the arrival of a courier whom he expected any moment from Paris. The queen, while expressing her surprise that Lord Hutchinson was not ready to state the terms of the proposition of which he was the bearer, agreed to wait three hours for his communication. In a couple of hours Mr. Brougham received a letter from the envoy, stating that he was 'not in possession of any proposition or propositions detailed in a specific form of words which he could lay before Her Majesty, but that he could detail for her information the substance of many conversations held with Lord Liverpool. His Majesty's ministers proposed that £50,000 per annum should be settled on the queen for life, subject to such conditions as the king may impose.' 'The conditions likely to be imposed by His Majesty are that the queen is not to assume the style and title of Queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England,' and that 'she is not to reside in any part of the United Kingdom, or come to visit England.' Lord Hutchinson thought proper to add the following extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to him—'It is material that Her Majesty should know confidentially that if she shall be so ill-advised as to come over to this country, there must then be an end to all negotiation and compromise. The decision, I may



say, is taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets her foot on the British shores.'

If Lord Liverpool had understood the queen's character he would have been aware that any attempt to intimidate her would not only fail, but would provoke her at once to persist in the course from which it was wished to dissuade her. Without a moment's hesitation she instructed Mr. Brougham to return for answer, that it was quite impossible for Her Majesty to listen to such a proposition. Couriers were instantly despatched to get horses in readiness on the road. She dismissed the whole of her Italian suite, including her chamberlain, Bergami; and, in half an hour after the receipt of Lord Hutchinson's letter, Her Majesty set out for Calais, accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton and Alderman Wood.

Lord Hutchinson so little expected this abrupt movement that, at the time of the queen's departure, he was writing a note to Mr. Brougham, offering to send a courier to London for further instructions. Brougham forwarded this note to Her Majesty by a courier, accompanied by a letter from himself, stating that he could not advise her to entertain the proposition that had been made; but if the offered annuity should be granted without any renunciation of rank or title or rights, and with a pledge on the part of the Government that she should be acknowledged and received abroad by all the diplomatic agents of the country according to her rank and station, he would earnestly urge that she should accept of it. He advised her not to go to England before a new offer could be made; but that, if she was determined to proceed, she should do so in the most private, and even secret manner possible. He hinted to her that there were some persons whose advice was of a different cast, and who would be found very feeble allies in the hour of difficulty.

There can be no doubt that Brougham referred to certain 'less discreet parties in

England' who had, from the first, recommended the queen to return home, and especially to Alderman Wood, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the king, as well as to some of the friends of the queen. Brougham, in his indignation at finding his advice neglected for that of 'a citizen and fishmonger,' designated him, in a letter to Lord Hutchinson, 'Wood, the ass and alderman, whom they call Thistle Wood.' The king, who was furious at Wood being allowed to sit in the carriage beside the queen in her progress through London, called him 'that beast Wood.' The prominent part which he took on behalf of the queen brought upon him, of course, a torrent of abuse from the courtiers and the supporters of the Government. But although the worthy alderman was not a refined or well-educated person, he was by no means an 'ass,' or 'a vain, foolish busy-body,' as he was described by a correspondent of Lord Colchester. Denman, who knew him well, declared that he possessed 'uncommon perseverance and activity, no small share of natural sagacity, and much acquaintance with the character of the English people.' If it was by Wood's advice that the queen proceeded at once to England, and made her journey public, and not 'private and secret,' the result fully vindicated the wisdom of his counsel, and proved his knowledge of the state of popular feeling in regard to her case. The queen reached Calais on Sunday night. She had been informed by Lord Melville that he could not send a yacht to convey her to England, as His Majesty was then out of town, and the Admiralty could not receive his commands on the subject. She was on board the packet which she had engaged before she received Brougham's remonstrance; but he was quite well aware that it would not have availed to arrest her progress. She reached Dover at one o'clock on Monday. The commandant, who had received no orders to the contrary, fired a royal salute, and she landed amid the acclamations of an immense multitude, who

had assembled to welcome her after an absence of six years. In the evening a deputation of the inhabitants of Dover presented an address to her, congratulating her on her arrival in England and her accession to the throne, styling themselves 'Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.' She dexterously availed herself of these terms, and, in her reply, expressed 'her hope that she should be permitted to promote the happiness of her husband's subjects.' Her journey from Dover to London was one continued triumph. At every stage she was greeted with the most enthusiastic expressions of popular sympathy and affection. Even at the Cathedral city of Canterbury, which she reached when darkness had set in, an immense multitude had collected, lighted by torches. The horses were taken from her carriage, and it was drawn by the people to the door of the hotel. An address was presented to her by the mayor and corporation in their robes; and the queen, in her reply, said, 'I will do anything to make my people happy.' Most significant of all, when she left Canterbury next morning, the officers of the cavalry regiment stationed there escorted her as far as Sittingbourne, and the clergy in their gowns and bands waited on her at that place. At every village crowds were assembled—the bells of every parish church on the road pealed out a welcome. Chatham, Rochester, and other towns, sent forth their thousands to do her honour. Deptford and Greenwich poured out, in indiscriminate concourse, all ranks and conditions of their inhabitants. Blackheath resembled some great Continental fair. All classes of the people, men and women, old and young, grave and gay, shared in the universal enthusiasm. Even the cool and cynical Charles Greville, clerk of the Privy Council, rode as far as Greenwich to meet her. 'The road,' he says, 'was thronged with an immense multitude the whole way from Westminster Bridge to Greenwich. Carriages, carts, and horsemen followed, preceded, and surrounded her coach the whole way. She

was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm. Women waved pocket handkerchiefs, and men shouted wherever she passed. She travelled in an open landau, Alderman Wood sitting by her side, and Lady Anne Hamilton and another woman opposite. Everybody was disgusted at the vulgarity of Wood in sitting in the place of honour, while the Duke of Hamilton's sister was sitting backwards in the carriage. The queen looked exactly as she did before she left England, and seemed neither dispirited nor dismayed.' As the queen's carriage passed Carlton House, the residence of the king, Wood stood up and gave three cheers, which were caught up by the vast multitude, and must have resounded through every room and corner of the palace. The sentries at the gates presented arms. The immense assemblage escorted her to the residence of Alderman Wood in South Audley Street, where she alighted; but before they dispersed, the queen had to bow her acknowledgments from the balcony. This memorable day ended with an illumination of the west end of the town, at the instance of the mob, who paraded the streets and compelled the inhabitants to light up their houses.

The feeling excited by the arrival of the queen, not only in London, but throughout the country, was universal and strong. The public had always felt sympathy for her wrongs; but to this was added admiration of the courage which she had displayed in thus braving her enemies, as it were, in their stronghold, and defying them to do their worst against her. 'If her father had advanced to Paris,' wrote Ward, 'as fearlessly as she advanced to London, we might have been spared five-and-twenty years' war. Her promptitude and courage confounded her opponents, and gained her the favour of the people.' 'She approaches wisely, because boldly,' said Wilberforce. 'One can't help admiring her spirit.' Her courage and decision not only excited admiration, but were regarded as proofs of her innocence, and of a conviction on her

part that her enemies could prove none of the charges which they had brought against her. So ignorant, however, were the king and the Ministry of the state of public feeling, and so unable to discern the signs of the times, that in the midst of all this excitement they were flattering themselves with the confident expectation that they would succeed in their object. 'The King, in the meantime, is in excellent spirits,' wrote Greville, 'and the Ministers affect the greatest unconcern, and talk of the time it will take to pass the bills to "settle her business."' 'Her business, as they call it,' adds this shrewd observer, 'will in all probability raise such a tempest as they will find it beyond their powers to appease; and for all His Majesty's unconcern, the day of her arrival in England may be such an anniversary to him as he will have no cause to celebrate with much rejoicing.' The result showed how correctly the clerk of the Council had estimated the feeling of the country.

As soon as the Ministry learned the intention of the queen to proceed to London, they met on the evening of the day she left St. Omer; and after a lengthened sitting, which was adjourned till next day, they felt constrained to bring the case at once before Parliament, which assembled an hour and a half after the meeting of the Cabinet broke up. The Prime Minister, after some formal business had been concluded, brought down a message from the king, along with certain papers in a green bag sealed, respecting the conduct of the queen during her residence on the Continent. He intimated at the same time that he would next day (June 6) propose that the papers should be referred to a secret committee. After a short discussion the House of Lords appointed a secret committee of fifteen peers, to whom the contents of the green bag were referred. A similar message, accompanied with a similar green bag, was carried to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, but with a different result. Brougham, who was quite prepared

for the attempt to induce the Commons to act with equal rapidity, defeated it by presenting a message from the queen, demanding a full and public investigation of her conduct, instead of a secret inquiry, and followed it up by entering fully into the whole case. His friends declared that his speech was 'one of the best that was ever made,' and even his opponents admitted that it was 'good and effective.' It told most powerfully on the House, and especially on the country gentlemen. Canning says Brougham, 'while he supported the ministers, acted most honourably, and bore such testimony to the virtues and high bearing of the princess, whose honour, and I may almost say life, was assailed by a husband whose whole life and conduct in the marriage state had been a barefaced violation of his vows, that ministers were forced to give way, and an adjournment was agreed on without a division,' indeed, as one of the members said, was 'carried almost by acclamation.' The public feeling in favour of the queen and against the king and his ministers grew stronger every hour. Placards were posted throughout the town, commanding a great illumination for three nights. 'The mob,' says Greville, 'have been breaking windows in all parts of the town (of those who disobeyed the order to illuminate), and pelting those who would not take off their hats as they passed Wood's door. Last night Lord Exmouth's house was assaulted and his windows broken, when he rushed out with sword and pistol and drove away the mob.'

A much more alarming symptom was the extension of the prevailing excitement to the troops. A battalion of the 3rd Guards excited such strong dissatisfaction that they were marched out of London to Portsmouth, and were heard by the way shouting 'God save Queen Caroline.' 'The extinguisher has taken fire,' said Luttrell. The soldiers considered that the queen, as well as the king, was entitled to their allegiance. A regiment of cavalry, stopping on its march at Penrith, near Brougham Hall, drank the

health of its owner, and that of the queen, and vowed that 'they would fight up to their knees in blood for their queen.' The day after Majocchi's examination-in-chief the impression prevailed that the evidence was unfavourable to her. The Guards, in their undress trousers and foraging caps, came at night to where they supposed the queen was, and cried, 'Never mind; it may be going badly, but better or worse we are all with you.' Such a state of affairs, indeed, might well cause great uneasiness to the Government.

At this stage negotiations for a compromise were entered into between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh on the one side, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman on the other, but they proved utterly abortive. 'It was plain from the first,' said Brougham, 'that the duke and Lord Castlereagh had nothing like full powers from the king;' 'nor indeed,' he adds, 'had we on the part of the queen.' The conferences were continued over four successive days, but they ended in smoke. 'Speaking of some expedient to reconcile Her Majesty to a stipulation that she should reside on the Continent, to which Brougham merely said that she had no insuperable objection, he suggested in a sort of hurried whisper that the restoration of her name to the Liturgy might answer that purpose. Lord Castlereagh promptly replied, "You might as easily move Carlton House." Other concessions were offered on behalf of the king, such as the notification of the queen's name and rank at the Court either of Rome or Milan, in which she had expressed her intention to reside, but leaving it to these Courts to decide what reception they would give to Her Majesty; a royal yacht or a frigate would be given for her conveyance, and every personal attention paid to her by the English ministers abroad, and an address should be presented to the queen as well as to the king, to 'thank Her Majesty for having acceded to the wish of the House of Commons.' The probability is, that if in addition to these offers the

queen's name had been restored to the Liturgy, the matter would have been settled, and the grievous scandal of the trial averted. But the Ministry had the weakness and folly to make themselves the tools of the king's resentment, instead of compelling him, as they might have done, to yield to the dictates of prudence and proper feeling.

On the 19th of June Lord Castlereagh had the mortification to announce in the Commons, and Lord Liverpool in the Lords, that the negotiations had failed. Mr. Wilberforce, on the following day, 'of all men the most fit to lead the resistance to this hateful measure,' proposed an address to the queen, which, after expressing deep regret that the endeavours to frame an arrangement had failed, represented to Her Majesty the inestimable importance of an amicable adjustment which, in the opinion of the House, she might do without any sacrifice of her honour. He argued that though the queen could not yield to the king her claim to have her name inserted in the Liturgy, she might waive it at the request of the House of Commons. The debate which took place on this proposal was characterized by remarkable ability. The speeches of Brougham, Denman, Canning, and Burdett, excited universal admiration. The Ministry cut a very sorry figure in the discussion, and their conduct was exposed and denounced in very severe terms, especially by Burdett.

Wilberforce's motion was carried by a majority of 391 votes to 121, and the mover and seconder, Mr. Stuart Wortley (afterwards Lord Wharncliffe), who represented Yorkshire, along with Sir Thomas Acland, member for Devonshire, and Mr. Bankes, member for Dorsetshire, were commissioned to carry it to the queen. Her counsel wisely declined to offer her any advice on the subject, though earnestly solicited by her to give their opinion. They told her she must be guided by her own feelings, and was herself the only person capable of judging what she had best do. She re-

ceived the deputation with the greatest courtesy, but declined in the most decided terms to accede to the request of the Commons. 'As a subject of the state,' she said, 'I shall bow with deference and, if possible, without a murmur to every act of the sovereign authority; but as an accused and injured queen, I owe it to the king, to myself, and to all my fellow-subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or to withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice which are, alike, the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual.' The deputation expressed their regret at Her Majesty's decision, and then withdrew to report to the House of Commons the failure of their mission. When the refusal of the queen to accede to the proposal of Wilberforce was announced to the immense multitude assembled round her door, it was received with the most enthusiastic applause. 'But it was with difficulty,' says Brougham, 'that the deputation escaped maltreatment, the hissing and screams against them being excessive.' Greville says they called Wilberforce 'Dr. Cantwell.' It was carefully intimated to the people by some of her unprofessional friends that her refusal was entirely her own act, and this occasioned a renewal of applause. The disappointment of the Government at the refusal was great, says Brougham; 'far greater than the king's, who was bent upon proceeding—because, not satisfied with such a result as would only expel the queen from England, he desired the bill beyond everything: Leach and his other secret advisers never allowing him to doubt that it must pass.' His Majesty, strange to say, does not seem ever to have thought of a question which was paramount to all others in the popular mind, and troubled above all others his legal advisers, Was not the queen entitled to recriminate? The right of recrimination had always been admitted in proceedings for divorce. If the person petitioning for the dissolution of a marriage did not come into court with clean

hands, he was at once refused his redress. It was of course known to every one that George IV. had, from the time of his marriage down to that hour, been living in open and flagrant violation of his marriage vows; and even supposing that the charges against the queen were all true, had she not a right to retaliate? And if the Parliament were to deny to her a right conceded to every one else, and thus violate the principles of established law and the invariable practice of the court, would it not be universally felt that all semblance, even of justice and consistency, was set at nought?

These considerations had not only great weight with the public, but they pressed heavily on the minds of the members of the Cabinet. Mr. Canning at first stood aloof from the whole proceeding, and when he found that his colleagues were determined to prosecute the charges against the queen, he resigned his office of President of the India Board. Lord Liverpool felt keenly his position, but he had not the courage and strength of mind to offer a steady resistance to the king's wish, and he went on with the case, feeling more and more at every step that it was both unjust and impolitic. As for the Lord Chancellor, he, as usual, talked a great deal about his conscience and his perfect impartiality, but he had no scruples in obeying the orders of his sovereign, and no difficulty in satisfying himself, on technical grounds, that a distinction might be drawn to warrant a refusal of proof that His Majesty's conduct disentitled him to relief from the nuptial tie. In ordinary bills of divorce, he said, they are not tendered to the House, in the first instance, by a peer; the husband petitions for leave to have a bill brought in; the proceeding is therefore in the nature of *his* suit. As *against him*, it is fair to show that *he* ought not to be relieved; he is a party, in somewhat of a strict sense, in the proceeding. He has therefore no right to complain if his actions are examined in that proceeding; of his actions Commons, Lords, and King are to judge. But in this proceeding the

king is no petitioning party; the bill is not brought in upon leave *at his suit*. A lord brings it in upon his own responsibility—might bring it in whether *he* would or not—he has not, as a petitioner, placed himself in a situation in which he has submitted his actions to examination in a proceeding in which he can repel imputation by proof, even if, as a king, he could submit his actions to examination. Such wire-drawn and specious distinctions might satisfy the majority of the House of Lords, composed largely of persons who had already received marks of royal favour, and were expectants of future benefits from the throne. But from the first there was very great doubt whether they would induce the House of Commons to set aside in this case the fundamental principles of criminal equity; and there was no expectation that considerations such as Lord Eldon adduced, would have the slightest weight with the great body of the people. It was notorious that the whole proceedings originated directly and solely with the king; that they were undertaken by the Ministry with the greatest reluctance, only to gratify his wishes; and it was equally well known, that on moral and equitable grounds, he was not entitled to the redress which he sought.

The queen, before she left Rome, had appointed Brougham her attorney, and Denman her solicitor-general, and it was acknowledged on all hands that she had been most fortunate in her choice. Brougham was at this time in the maturity of his great abilities, and, though he had not yet reached the full height of his influence, he was already a power in the State, and his splendid eloquence, extensive attainments, and indefatigable energy and zeal, pre-eminently fitted him to take the lead in the queen's defence. Denman, who was associated with him, had acquired a high and well-merited reputation as a sound lawyer, an able and accomplished pleader, and a most honourable and exemplary person in all his domestic relations. 'His noble cast of features,' says Mr. Keppell, 'the honest expression of

his countenance, the deep-toned melody of his voice, the happy choice of his language, his dignified irony, his consistent political conduct, and his irreproachable private character—all these, together with the belief that he was firmly convinced of the innocence of his client, combined to produce a most favourable impression upon his hearers.' The leaders in the case were assisted by Sergeant Wilde, who subsequently filled the office of Lord Chancellor; Tindal, who became Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas; Lushington, who was a judge of the High Court of Admiralty; and Williams, who was appointed a justice of the Queen's Bench. Her solicitor was Vizard, 'whose strictly honourable character,' says Brougham, 'and professional talents, with his sound judgment, made him a valuable associate; and his trustworthiness, the most essential recommendation in so delicate a matter, led to my treating him as one of the counsel rather than the solicitor only.' The conduct of these eminent men, in so cordially accepting the duty entrusted to them, displayed no ordinary disinterestedness and courage, and is deserving of the highest commendation. They were well aware that, by acting as the defenders of the queen, they would incur the permanent hatred of the king, and would place serious obstacles in the way of their professional advancement. But no apprehension of personal injury deterred them from obeying the dictates of duty, and advocating the cause of the unhappy woman whom the Court and the Government had combined to destroy.

The Hon. G. T. Keppell (afterwards Earl of Albemarle), says, Brougham was fond of implying that he had ample materials for recriminating the king. 'If,' said he, 'this necessity should be imposed upon me I should act directly in the teeth of the instructions of this illustrious woman [here with a theatrical wave of the hand he pointed to the queen who sat immediately below him], I should disobey her solemn commands; nor is it my purpose to resort

to it unless driven to it by an absolute and overruling compulsion.' Brougham himself says, 'When I said that it might be my painful duty to bring forward what would involve the country in confusion, I was astonished that everybody should have conceived recrimination to be *all* I intended. I was very well satisfied with the mistake, because it was of the last importance that the real ground of defence should be brought forward by surprise, that it should be presented at once in its full proportions, and by a short and clear statement. The ground then was neither more nor less than impeaching the king's own title, by proving that he had forfeited the crown. He had married a Roman Catholic (Mrs. Fitzherbert) while heir-apparent, and this is declared by the Act of Settlement to be a forfeiture of the crown, "*as if he were naturally dead.*" We were not in possession of all the circumstances, as I have since ascertained them, but we had enough to prove the fact.' It was fortunate for George IV., perhaps for the peace of the country, that events took a turn which made it unnecessary for the queen's counsel to make such a charge against him, which, without doubt, could have been proved by conclusive evidence.

Two days after the failure of the attempt at mediation, the queen petitioned the House of Lords against a secret inquiry into her conduct, and asked delay until the witnesses whom she would summon immediately to expose the machinations against her should reach this country. Her counsel were heard at half an hour's notice in support of this petition. 'Brougham made a very powerful speech,' says Greville. 'Denman began exceedingly well; Lord Holland said his first three or four sentences were the best thing he ever heard; *si sic omnia*, he would have made the finest speech possible; but on the whole he was inferior to Brougham. They contended for delay, but in vain, on the ground that until the witnesses for the queen arrived they could not become sufficiently acquainted with the habits and character of the witnesses against

their illustrious client to cross-examine them to any useful purpose.' It was on this occasion that Denman, in the course of his speech, made the well-known allusion to Sir John Leach, the adviser of the Milan Commission, who, it was believed, expected to be rewarded for his services with the office of chancellor. Quoting Emilia's description of Iago in 'Othello,' he applied it to Leach, to Lord Eldon's manifest delight—

'I will be hanged if some eternal villain,  
Some busy and insinuating rogue,  
Some cogging cozening knave, to get some office,  
Have not devised this slander.'

Two months after Denman's speech 'Othello' was played at Drury Lane. It was Kean's farewell performance prior to his departure on a visit to America. Keppel, who was present, says, 'Here was the first actor of the day, and in his master-piece. But this evening the audience had neither eyes nor ears for their favourite. Their whole interest in the play was concentrated in those passages which bore, or appeared to bear, some analogy to the event which was absorbing the public mind.' When the lines quoted by Denman were recited, 'there arose in the gallery yellings and hootings, intermixed with cries of "Leach, Leach." The uproar continued some minutes. When silence was in some degree restored, the actors resumed their parts.'

*Iago*, 'Fye, there's no such man! it is impossible.  
*Desd.*, 'If any such there be, Heaven pardon him.  
*Emilia*, 'A halter pardon him, and hell gnaw his bones.

'The man's abused by some most villainous knave.  
Some base notorious knave, some scurvy fellow;  
Oh Heaven! that such companions thou 'dst unfold,  
And put in every honest hand a whip  
To lash the rascal naked through the world,  
Even from the east to the west.'

'These words were followed by the most tremendous applause.' 'The pit twice stood up and cheered; the men waved their hats; the women their handkerchiefs; and the acclamations throughout the whole house

were loud and general, and lasted for several minutes.'

These and many other strong manifestations of public feeling among all classes ought to have deterred the ministers from the unwise course on which they had unhappily entered. But the king, fully persuaded that the bill would pass, obstinately adhered to his resolution to degrade his wife. As Lord Eldon bitterly remarked, 'The king is determined, and will hear of nothing but thorough investigation, and of what he and those who consider *themselves* more than him think and talk of—thorough exposure of the queen and divorce. If the ministers give way, the king will remove them.' Such a catastrophe, however, as official extinction was dreaded by them much more than all the mischief which, they clearly foresaw, would result from the continuance of the investigation. They therefore yielded to the injunctions of His Majesty, and resolved to proceed with the case. The application of the queen's counsel was rejected. The 'green-bag' was referred to a secret committee, and on the 4th of July they reported that, as the charges affected 'not only the honour of the queen, but the dignity of the Crown and the moral feeling and honour of the country,' they were of opinion that it was 'indispensable they should become the subject of solemn inquiry,' which might 'be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding, the necessity of which,' the committee declared, 'they cannot but most deeply deplore.' On the following day Lord Liverpool introduced the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which has been justly termed 'the everlasting disgrace of his administration.' It was entitled 'An Act to deprive Her Majesty, Queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions of Queen Consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between His Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth,' on the ground of her alleged improper and degrading conduct generally during her residence abroad, and particularly of her

adulterous connection with one of her servants named Bartilomeo Bergami. The bill was immediately read a first time, and the second reading fixed for the 17th of August.

The tide of popular feeling continued to run strong in the queen's favour, and became every day more marked. Addresses poured in upon her from every quarter of the country, and from all classes of the community. The city of London led the way, and was followed by the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, the various parishes and trades of the metropolis, the ladies of the city of Edinburgh, the inhabitants of Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Coventry, and other large towns throughout the kingdom, all expressing indignation at the treatment which Her Majesty had received from the king and the Government, and their confident expectation that she would triumph over all the machinations of her enemies. Whenever she appeared in public she was welcomed with the most enthusiastic greetings, and when she took a drive in the park the populace removed the horses from her carriage and drew it themselves. On the other hand, the king hid himself in his palace, afraid to show his face in the streets. His ministers were received with groans and hisses, and even the Duke of Wellington was hissed by the mob, much to his surprise. When the Italian witnesses landed at Dover, they were so roughly handled that the magistrates had to call out the constables for their protection. 'Their appearance,' says an eye-witness, 'seemed to excite great disgust. They all, with the exception of two, were most miserably attired; in fact, they looked like those itinerant Italians of whom we have so many tramping about all over the country. To look at them, no one could suppose they could ever be admitted where they could have witnessed any actions of a princess of the rank of Her Majesty.' They left Dover amidst the deepest execrations and hootings in a state of great terror, and had



to be conveyed to London by a circuitous route. They were lodged in a house in Cotton Garden, in the vicinity of the two houses of Parliament, and were obliged to confine themselves to the inclosure, or their prison, rather; for, says Mr. Keppel, 'they would have been torn to pieces by the populace if they had ventured beyond its precincts. The land entrance was strongly barricaded. The side facing Westminster Bridge was shut out from the public by a wall run up for the express purpose, at a right angle to the Parliament stairs. Thus the only access was by the river. The street side was guarded by a strong military force, the water side by gunboats. About this building, in which the witnesses were immured from August till November, the London mob would hover like a cat round the cage of a canary. When these fellows appeared at the bar of the House, they looked as respectable as fine clothes and soap and water could make them. Those persons who saw them before they emerged from the chrysalis into the butterfly state, described them as swarthy, dirty-looking fellows, in scanty, ragged jackets, and greasy leather caps.'

On the 17th of August, the day fixed for the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, the streets of Westminster adjoining the Houses of Parliament were thronged with a crowd unprecedented both for its vast numbers and its good order. Every precaution had been taken to prevent disturbance; large bodies of cavalry patrolled the streets; two regiments of Life Guards were stationed in Palace Yard, and the Coldstream in Westminster Hall, along with a large body of artillery which had been moved up from Woolwich. But there was no need of force to preserve order, the people were in great good humour. They contented themselves with cheering the friends of the queen, and hooting the members of the Government and their supporters, and compelling their servants and coachmen to pull off their hats and huzza for the queen. At ten o'clock a universal cheer from the vast

crowd that thronged the streets and the windows and roofs of the houses, which lined the route between St. James' Square and Palace Yard, announced that the queen had left her house. She was seated in an open carriage drawn by six horses, and was attended by Lady Anne Hamilton. The sentinels at Carlton House, the residence of the king, where the carriage halted for a few seconds, presented arms to her, as they did on her arrival, and were cheered by the mob for so doing. At half-past ten the shouts of the populace, 'the loudest ever heard,' announced to the Peers the approach of Her Majesty. She was received at the threshold by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Usher of the Black Rod. The queen had known him while she was living under her husband's roof. 'Well, Sir Thomas,' she is reported to have said, 'what is your master trying me for? Is it for intermarrying with a man whose first wife I knew to be living?' The great folding doors of the robing room were thrown open, and she entered the House, the Peers rising to receive her. A chair of state, covered with crimson velvet, had been placed near the bar for her reception, facing the throne, adjoining which the members of the Lower House had been accommodated. She was dressed in black, with white crape trimmings, and a rich white lace veil 'flowed gracefully over her shoulders, and hung like an antique vestment over her dress.' 'She seemed much affected on taking her chair, and did not appear quite composed for a considerable time.' She conversed for some time with Lord Archibald Hamilton, who pointed out to her the most notable personages in the assembly, and explained to her their Lordships' proceedings.

The queen's counsel were placed on the right in the space usually allotted to strangers. The position to the left was assigned to the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the King's Advocate-General Dr. Adams, and Mr. Parke, who appeared for the prosecution. Sir Robert Gifford, the Attorney-General, the leading

counsel, appeared to great disadvantage against Brougham and Denman. He was, says Mr. Keppell, 'a red-faced little man, wanting in dignity both in manner and appearance. His language seemed ill-chosen, his voice was painfully shrill, and an incorrect ear caused him to place the accent mostly on the wrong word.'

Sir John Singleton Copley, the Solicitor-General, was a much abler man, and a much better speaker, than his principal, but his moral qualities were not equal to his intellectual abilities. He was a recent deserter from the Liberal camp, and was in consequence disliked by the Opposition, and not much respected or trusted by the Ministerialists. At this time 'he had a disagreeable expression of countenance—a sort of scowl, which, however, wore away as he advanced in years. His manner had not the naturalness of his opponents—it was too theatrical—and his style of speaking suggested to the hearer the spouting manner which school-boys acquire by reciting hexameter verses.' In after years he became completely free from this fault.

The examination of the witnesses began on the 21st of August. A list of these had been asked and refused on some petty technical plea, so that the queen's counsel were left in entire ignorance as to their character and position. The first who was presented was Teodore Majocchi, the prevaricating postillion of '*Non mi ricordo*' notoriety. At his entrance the queen was looking another way; but on perceiving him, she uttered some words in a loud voice, and hastily left the House. Her action at the time looked like an alarm, and was sedulously represented as indicating that she was afraid of the testimony which he could give against her. But Mr. Keppell, who was present, put a very different interpretation upon it. He says, 'The moment she saw him, she raised her hands above her head, and, uttering a loud exclamation, bounced out of the House of Lords in a most unqueenlike manner. What that exclamation was intended to convey is

still a mystery. Some said the word was "Teodore," others "Traditore." To me it seemed to be simply the interjection "Oh!" as expressive of disgust at seeing in her accuser one whom she had known as a dirty discharged menial, but who was now transformed into a clean-looking gentleman, dressed in the height of the fashion.'

Majocchi's testimony, apparently, bore strongly against Her Majesty; though it transpired, from the questions put to him, that he had forgotten some of the most damaging statements which he had made at his preliminary precognition, and could not be drawn on to repeat them. Copley, as Brougham says, purposely protracted his examination throughout the whole day, until it was too late for the queen's counsel to take off the effect of his evidence by cross-examination, in order that it might make an impression the whole of that evening on the House of Lords, and the next day also in the city. Brougham's cross-examination showed how worthless that evidence was, and made the wretched creature a joke throughout the whole country. To every question fitted to test the accuracy of his memory, and the truth of his statements, he returned the answer, '*Non mi ricordo*' ('I do not remember'), and the defeat of the bill in the House of Lords was largely affected by the result of this cross-examination. His constantly-reiterated expression, '*Non mi ricordo*,' passed at once into the byword which it has ever since continued among all classes. Even the mob saluted the queen's barge as she passed from Hammersmith to Greenwich with shouts of '*Non mi ricordo*,' and the words were repeated at intervals while the trial lasted, mingled with exhortations to the guards and the Peers to 'remember their queen,' remember their 'wives,' their 'daughters,' and their 'sisters.'

Another witness on whose testimony great dependence was placed was Louise Demont, a Swiss, who had been chambermaid to the princess, and had been dis-

charged from her service. Her examination-in-chief occupied two whole days; and in her case, as in that of Majocchi, her testimony did not fully support the statements made by the Attorney-General in his opening speech. But her evidence was most thoroughly demolished by Mr. Williams in his most able and effective cross-examination. Letters were produced which she had written to her half-sister, who was still in the queen's service, in which she expressed the greatest admiration for her Royal Highness, and her 'infinite respect and unlimited attachment for her august person,' and gave a minute statement about a proposal made to her to go to London, under the pretext of being a governess, with the most liberal promises of money, which she admitted to be utterly untrue. After her dismissal from the princess' service, she wrote supplicating forgiveness in the most humble terms, and entreating her Royal Highness to continue her protection to her sister. Another witness, named Rastelli, who had acted as superintendent of the princess' stables, after he left her service had been employed as a courier by the Milan Commission, and had gone about collecting witnesses to testify against Her Majesty. His evidence was disgusting and utterly incredible; and besides, he was proved to have bribed another of the witnesses to give evidence against the queen. After concluding his testimony, he was immediately sent out of the country. This was a grievous mistake on the part of the prosecution. It was discovered by the queen's counsel, who indignantly remonstrated against this violation of the promise which Lord Liverpool had given, that the witnesses should be kept in the country until the termination of the trial; and demanded that Rastelli should be brought back for cross-examination. Brougham admits that the sending away this witness gave the queen's counsel a great advantage, and there can be no doubt that it was of immense benefit to her cause. Mr. Powell, one of the two lawyers who

were at the head of the Milan Commission, was called by the Peers to account for Rastelli's disappearance. He professed to have sent him home to Milan in order to quiet the minds of the relatives of witnesses who were still in England as to their safety, an excuse which was received with general incredulity. Brougham dexterously availed himself of the opportunity to put to Powell the question, 'Who is your employer or client in this case?' which was received with loud shouts of 'No! No!' from the Peers. Brougham insisted that the question was every way just and proper. 'I have never been able,' he said, 'to trace the local habitation or the name of the unknown being who is the plaintiff in this proceeding. I know not but it may vanish into thin air. I know not under what shape it exists;' and then, in order to indicate who was the true author of the proceedings, he quoted Milton's magnificent description of Death in 'Paradise Lost'—

'If shape it might be called that shape had none  
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;  
Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,  
For each seem'd either. What seem'd his head,  
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.'

This felicitous quotation was suggested to Brougham by Spencer Perceval, the eldest son of Perceval, the Prime Minister. George IV. felt the allusion most keenly. He said Brougham might at least have spared him the attack upon his shape. He was more vain of his person and of his slim figure than of almost anything else, and he said to Lord Donoughmore that he thought everybody allowed, whatever faults he might have, that his legs were not as Brougham had described. It was in vain that Donoughmore tried to convince him that the quotation only referred to the crown. He said he was certain Brougham had heard of his piquing himself on his shape, and thought it would plague him to have it held up to ridicule.

The result of the examination of the witnesses adduced in support of the bill fully

bore out the description which Brougham subsequently gave in the *Edinburgh Review* of the Milan Commission and its labours. 'It is the first impression,' he said, 'always arising in Italy from any work undertaken by English hands, and paid for by English money, that an inexhaustible fund is employed, and with boundless profusion; and a thirst of gold is straightway excited which no extravagance of liberality can slake. The knowledge that a board was sitting to collect evidence against the queen immediately gave such testimony a high value in the market of Italian perjury; and happy was the individual who had ever been in her house or admitted to her presence; his fortune was counted to be made. Nor were they who had viewed her mansion, or had only known the arrangements of her villa, without hopes of sharing in the golden prize. To have seen her pass, and noted who attended her person, was a piece of good luck. In short, nothing, however remotely connected with herself or her family, or her residence or her habits, was without its value among a poor, a sanguine, and an imaginative people. As the treachery of servants was the portion of this testimony which bore the highest value, that of course was not difficult to procure, and the accusers soon possessed what in such a case is most wished for by the accuser, not indeed the confession of the guilty persons, but the man-servant of the one and the maid-servant of the other supposed paramour. Recourse was had to spies, who watched all the parties did, and when they could not find a circumstance, made one—men who chronicled the dinners and the suppers that were eaten, the walks and the sails that were enjoyed, the arrangements of rooms and the position of bowers, and who, never doubting that these were the occasions and the scenes of endearment and of enjoyment, pretended to have witnessed the one, in order that the other might be supposed, but with that inattention to particulars which Providence has appointed as the snare for the false witness and the safeguard of inno-

cence, pretended to have seen in such directions as would have required the rays of light to move, not straightforward, but round about barriers—that pried into carriages where the travellers were asleep at grey daylight, or saw in the dusk of dewy eve what their own fancy pictured—sailors, who believed that all persons could gratify their animal appetites on the public deck, where they themselves had so often played the beast's part—lying waiting-women, capable of repaying the kindness and charity that had laid the foundation of their fortune, with the treachery that could rear it to the height of their sordid desires—chamber-maids the refuse of the streets and the common food of wayfaring licentiousness—lechers of either sex, who would fain have gloated over the realities of what their liquorish imagination alone bodied forth—pimps of hideous aspect, whose prurient glance could penetrate through the keyhole of rooms where the rat shared with the bug the silence of the deserted place—these were the performers whose exploits the Commissioners chronicled, whose narratives they collected, and whose exhibition upon the great stage of the first tribunal of all the earth they sedulously and zealously prepared for frequent rehearsal. Yet, with all these helps to success—with the unlimited supply of fancy and of falsehood which the character of the people furnished—with the very body servants of the parties hired by their wages, if not bought with a price—such an array could only be produced as the whole world at once pronounced insufficient to prove any case, and as even the most prejudiced of assemblies in the accuser's favour turned from with disgust.'

The examination of the witnesses in support of the Bill of Pains and Penalties terminated on the 7th of September. The evidence was summed up by the Solicitor-General, Copley, who exerted himself to the utmost to rehabilitate the witnesses whose veracity had been so seriously impaired by the cross-examination to which they had

been subjected. The case for the bill then closed, and the House adjourned for three weeks to give the queen's counsel time to prepare their reply. Although only hostile evidence had been led, and the witnesses in the queen's defence had not been heard, public opinion and sympathy continued to run strongly in Her Majesty's favour. Addresses of congratulation and sympathy continued to pour in upon her, signed by many thousands of both sexes and of all classes. Her counsel and the peers who supported her were everywhere greeted with the most enthusiastic applause. The members of the Government and their friends were mobbed and hooted whenever in town or country they dared to show face. The lord chancellor, once the friend, now the bitter foe of the queen, and who, as Lord Dudley remarked, 'having kept her conscience then, keeps her offended husband's now, and all for the public good,' was greeted, even at his own country seat, with cries of 'Queen for ever!' 'When Castlereagh and Sidmouth,' says Mr. Keppel, 'walked arm-in-arm to Westminster, amidst the execrations of the mob, the former exclaimed, "Here go two of the most popular men in England." To these two unpopularity was familiar, and they submitted to it with more or less philosophy. Not so Lord Liverpool, who had hitherto been treated with singular forbearance; but he, too, at last was doomed to take his share of the popular odium. The effect it had upon him was visible to every beholder. When he rose to address the House, it was with all the timidity of a nervous young peer making his maiden speech. Nor could he have given utterance to his words at all without the aid of large doses of ether, the odour of which reached the nostrils of those who were standing on the steps of the throne.'

Lord Sidmouth tried to console himself under the general condemnation of his conduct, and that of his colleagues, by assuming that he and they were suffering opprobrium solely on account of their discharge of their duty, and that the popular

feeling was merely a proof of the degeneracy of the nation. In reply to a political friend who had written to him expressing his suffering 'on account of the dangerous and deplorable situation in which the country and the king's government had been placed,' the Home Secretary, assuming a high moral tone, said, 'In venting your feelings, you have precisely expressed mine. All that just and honest pride which once gave comfort and dignity to a state of existence in this country, is nearly cancelled and obliterated. I am, however, much more under the influence of indignation than of any feeling which approaches despondency.' Posterity, however, has approved the verdict of the public at that time respecting the conduct of the king and the Government and has pronounced a severe and well-merited sentence of condemnation both on the immoral and unprincipled sovereign, and on the ministers who, in direct opposition to their own convictions, stooped to become the instruments of his selfishness and malignity.

The House of Lords met again on the 3rd of October, and Brougham opened the case in defence of the queen. His speech excited universal admiration. One of his hearers pronounced it 'very fine;' another said it was 'one of the most powerful orations that ever proceeded from human lips;' and a supporter of the bill was constrained to admit that it was 'of the most powerful and impressive character.' His analysis of the evidence given by the witnesses for the prosecution was of the most masterly character, and he commented with great effect on their mutual contradictions, and their failure to support the statements which had been made by the attorney-general in his opening speech—no doubt in reliance on the evidence they had given before the Milan Commission, but which they had either forgotten or could not venture to repeat before the peers. He animadverted, too, on the character of the witnesses, on the drilling they had received from the Milan Com-

mission, on the glaring improbability of many of their assertions, and on the enormous sums which they were to receive for their attendance. The peroration, which he is said to have re-written no less than seven times, was magnificent, and produced a most powerful impression upon the House. 'Such, my lords,' he said, 'is the case now before you! Such is the evidence in support of this measure—evidence inadequate to prove a debt—impotent to deprive of a civil right—ridiculous to convict of the lowest offence—scandalous, if brought forward to support a charge of the highest nature which the law knows—monstrous to ruin the honour, to blast the name of an English queen. My lords, I pray you to pause. I do earnestly beseech you to take heed! You are standing upon the brink of a precipice; then beware! It will go forth your judgment if sentence shall go against the queen; but it will be the only judgment you ever pronounced which, instead of reaching its object, will turn and rebound back upon those who give it. Save the country, my lords, from the horrors of this catastrophe—save yourselves from this peril—rescue that country of which you are the ornaments, but in which you can flourish no longer, when severed from the people, than the blossom when cut off from the roots and the stem of the tree. Save that country, that you may continue to adorn it—save the Crown, which is in jeopardy—the aristocracy, which is shaken—save the altar, which must stagger with the blow that rends its kindred throne! You have said, my lords—you have willed—the church and the king have willed—that the queen should be deprived of its solemn service. She has, instead of that solemnity, the heartfelt prayers of the people. She wants no prayers of mine. But I do here pour forth my humble supplications at the Throne of Mercy, that that mercy may be poured down upon the people in a larger measure than the merits of its rulers may deserve, and that your hearts may be turned to justice.' Denman, describing the effect of this splendid

burst of eloquence on the part of his colleague, says, 'His arguments, his observations, his tones, his attitude, his eye, left an impression on my mind which is scarcely ever renewed without exciting the strongest emotion. Erskine rushed out of the House in tears.'

The examination of the queen's witnesses commenced on the 5th of October, and continued until the 24th. They were of a far superior character, and occupied a much higher social position, than the persons brought to give evidence in support of the bill. Sir William Gell, Mr. St. Leger, and the Hon. Keppel Craven, who had been the queen's chamberlains; Lady Charlotte Lindsay, her lady of the bedchamber; Dr. Holland, her physician; Lord Guildford, Lord Glenbervie, and Lord Llandaff, who had been much in her society while she lived in Italy, Lieutenant Flynn, who commanded the polacca in which her Royal Highness visited the East; and Lieutenant Hownam, who was three years in her service, presented a very striking contrast to the discarded servants, chambermaids, valets, and grooms whom the Milan Commissioners had collected to bear testimony against their mistress. The evidence of these witnesses flatly contradicted the most important assertions of the queen's Italian servants, and explained other statements which bore an unfavourable aspect.

The evidence on behalf of the queen was summed up by Denman in a speech which was delivered on two days, and lasted ten hours. Brougham termed it 'a magnificent effort of genius;' and it was certainly as distinguished for its independence as for its ability and eloquence. He gave the deepest offence to the king by comparing the queen to Octavia, the wife of Nero, who was tortured and put to death by her husband. He dwelt at some length on the appropriateness of the parallel, which it appears had been suggested to him by Dr. Parr—the capricious offence taken in the very moment of their union; the adoption of a mistress in her place; the desertion; the

investigation; the exile; the triumphant return amidst the acclamations of the people; the renewed inquiry; the false evidence screwed out of her domestics, not indeed by bribes, but by torture. He wound up the parallel by quoting the retort which one of Octavia's maids returned to Tigellinus, who was presiding at her examination and torture, hurling the boldest defiance and invective at the man who had grossly aspersed the purity of his imperial mistress. The king never forgave this attack, which fixed upon him the name of Nero, and he doggedly refused to permit his successive chancellors, Eldon and Lyndhurst, to confer upon Denman the rank of king's counsel, until the Duke of Wellington at last constrained him to yield.

George IV. was not the only member of the royal family who suffered from Denman's indignant censure on this occasion. The Duke of Clarence had taken a deep interest in the trial, and, having given ready credence to some of the worst stories against the queen, he had busied himself in circulating them among the Peers. Denman's indignation was roused at this unworthy and most improper conduct, and he poured out a torrent of vehement invective against the slanderer. 'I know,' he said, 'that rumours are abroad of the most vague but, at the same time, most injurious character. We have heard, and hear daily with alarm, that there are persons, and those not of the lowest condition, not even excluded from this august assembly, who are industriously circulating the most odious calumnies against Her Majesty. Can this thing be? We know that if a juryman on such an occasion should affect to possess any knowledge on the subject of inquiry, we should have a right to call him to the bar as a witness. "Come forward," we might say, "and let us confront you with our evidence." But to any man who could even be suspected of so base a practice as whispering calumnies to judges, the queen might well exclaim, "Come forth, thou slanderer, and let me see thy face. If thou wouldst equal

the respectability of an Italian witness, come forth and depose in open court. As thou art, thou art worse than an Italian assassin, because, while I am boldly and manfully meeting my accusers, thou art planting a dagger unseen in my bosom, and converting thy poisoned stiletto into the semblance of the sword of justice."' The noble-minded and eloquent advocate, while uttering these burning words, looked steadfastly at the place where the Duke of Clarence was seated, and raised his voice 'till the old roof rang again, and a thrill of irrepressible emotion pervaded every heart in the densely crowded assembly.'

It is much to the credit of the Duke of Clarence that, though he must have felt keenly the reproof justly administered to him by Denman, unlike his elder brother, he never resented it. He had 'the sense and candour,' says Brougham, 'to perceive that the sufferer from the performance of the duty of an advocate has no just right to complain. He received Mr. Denman with marked civility at his first levee, after his accession to the throne; acquiesced without hesitation in his appointment as attorney-general, on the change of Government in November, 1830; two years afterwards consigned to him, as Chief-Justice, "the balance and the sword;" and expressed the utmost pleasure in acceding to Lord Grey's application to raise him to the peerage.'

Denman was followed by Dr. Lushington, an able and accomplished lawyer, who was, however, overshadowed by his leaders. The case was closed with the replies of the attorney-general, Gifford, and of the solicitor-general, Copley, who exerted themselves to the utmost to retrieve their failing cause. After a keen debate, which lasted four days, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of only 28 in a House of 218. It was now evident that the prosecution would fail; but the Ministry, in obedience to the orders of their relentless taskmaster, still pressed the measure. Their conduct was the more

inexcusable that they made no secret of their own opinion respecting the character and conduct of the king. 'The Duke of Portland told me,' says Greville, 'that he conversed with the Duke of Wellington upon the subject, and urged, as one of the reasons why this bill should not pass the House of Lords, the disgrace that it would entail upon the king by the recrimination that would ensue in the House of Commons. His answer was 'that the king was disgraced as low as he could be already.'

When the bill went into committee, Lord Liverpool proposed to omit the divorce clause, in order to meet the scruples of eight or nine bishops and two or three other lords, who declared that they could not vote for the bill if the divorce clause was retained. On the other hand, those who were most inveterate against the queen insisted on retaining it. They were joined by the Opposition in a body, who were naturally anxious to prevent the Ministry from conciliating those who were inclined to withdraw their support. This combination between the warmest friends and the fiercest opponents of the queen foiled the tactics of the Ministry, and carried the retention of the divorce clause by a large majority.

'If there is honesty in a bishop,' said old Lord Albemarle, 'ten or twelve who voted for the second reading, with an implied promise from Lord Liverpool that the divorce clause should be left out, must now vote against the third reading, as the divorce clause is retained; and thus the majority will be reduced to five or six. I have no faith in such honesty.' 'The sequel showed,' adds Mr. Keppel, 'that my father had not formed too harsh a judgment of the episcopal bench. Although several bishops had publicly declared that they had scruples on religious grounds in voting for the divorce clause, yet, when the matter came to a division, ten out of thirteen of them voted for the third reading of the bill, divorce clause included. Dr. Vernon, Archbishop of York, who had opposed the bill in all

its stages, could only obtain the support of two prelates, Dr. Ryder, Bishop of Gloucester, and Lord George Beresford, Archbishop of Dublin.' Two years later, when Lord Wellesley, the viceroy of Ireland, recommended Lord George Beresford as successor to the then vacant archbishopric of Armagh, the king wrote to Lord Liverpool a 'most secret and confidential letter,' opposing the nomination—influenced, as he said, by 'religious duty.' The Premier, however, who was well aware of His Majesty's real motive, gave no heed to his *pious* remonstrance; and the only Irish prelate who had the courage to oppose the Government Bill of Pains and Penalties was translated to the Primacy of Ireland.

Lord Liverpool saw clearly that the bill was doomed, and, on the 9th of November, when the committee reported to the House, he communicated to the Cabinet his opinion, that it would not be expedient to proceed any farther with the measure. The Chancellor characteristically resisted the proposal of abandonment, and spoke so angrily against it that the Premier replied with considerable tartness. In consequence of his opposition, it was resolved to feel the pulse of the House before the final decision to withdraw. On the next day, November 10th, the ministers advocated the third reading, and Lord Eldon, especially, spoke with great force in its support. All was in vain. The opponents of the bill increased from 95 to 99, while the supporters of the measure dwindled from 123 to 108, so that the third reading was carried by a majority of only nine. Brougham was standing on the steps of the throne, conversing with Croker, who had taken a very active part in the affair, while the vote was taken, and, on the numbers being announced, he said, 'There is an end of your bill.' 'Why so?' asked Croker. Brougham answered, 'Because the majority of nine is the number of the ministers and high officers in this House, and it won't do to pass such a bill by their votes.'

When it was announced that the third



reading was carried, the queen hurriedly withdrew with Denman to prepare a petition to be heard by counsel against the bill passing, and in signing it she used the celebrated words, 'Regina, in spite of them.' But it was unnecessary to present the petition. The folly of attempting to proceed farther with the measure in those circumstances was apparent to everybody, and Lord Liverpool at once announced that, 'considering the state of public feeling and the division of sentiment just evinced by their lordships,' the king's ministers had come to the determination to withdraw the bill.

The triumph of the queen over the combined efforts of the Court and the Ministry was hailed with the greatest exultation by all classes throughout the whole country. At every stage crowds were in waiting for the arrival of the mails, and the news was received with expressions of joy altogether unprecedented. London was illuminated for three successive nights under the sanction of the lord mayor. It was observed the mansions of the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Sophia, and of the Duke of Devonshire and other great Whig nobles, were lighted up with special brilliancy, and that none of them shone more brightly than Marlborough House, the residence of Prince Leopold. Majocchi and Demont, the principal witnesses for the prosecution, were hanged and burned in effigy. But the mob were in great good humour, and no acts of violence were committed beyond mobbing the offices of some of the newspapers which had advocated the king's side in the trial. Edinburgh, Dublin, and most of the chief towns, followed the example of the capital. Brougham and Denman, who had defended the queen with signal ability, courage, and disinterestedness, became the idols of the nation. 'The City of London passed a vote of thanks to Brougham, Denman, and Lushington, and resolved that the freedom of the city should be presented to them in commemoration of their splendid and successful exertions.'

Doubtless the feeling, so generally and so strongly expressed at the result of the trial, was quite irrespective of the queen's innocence or guilt. Indignation at the way in which she had been treated by her husband during many years of provocation and insult and ill-usage, was one main reason why her cause was so vehemently espoused by all ranks and conditions. That the wrong-doer should be allowed to vent upon his victim the consequences of his own offences; that the man whose whole life since his marriage had been a violation of his nuptial vows, should be permitted to destroy the wife whom he had deserted and ill-used, was justly regarded as outraging every principle of humanity and justice. Hence the universal exultation that was exhibited when it was announced that all the resources of espionage and menace, of slander and calumny, of party organization and Court and Ministerial influence, which had been employed against a long persecuted and defenceless woman, had failed, and, indeed, recoiled on the heads of her enemies. But reflecting men, who saw the injury done to public and private morals, the degradation of the Crown, the humiliation to which the Parliament had been subjected, the perversion of justice, and the dangers to the monarchy itself through this scandalous proceeding, felt as Lord Erskine did on the announcement that the Ministry had resolved to abandon the bill—'My life,' he said, 'whether it has been for good or for evil, has been passed under the sacred rule of the law. In this moment I feel my strength renovated by that rule being restored. The accursed change wherewithal we had been menaced has passed over our heads. There is an end of that horrid and portentous excrescence of a new law, retrospective, iniquitous, and oppressive; and the constitution and scheme of our polity is once more safe. My heart is too full of the escape we have just had to let me do more than praise the blessings of the system we have regained.'

Addresses of congratulation continued to pour in upon the queen from every quarter of the country, and from almost all descriptions of people. On the 29th of November she went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks for her 'deliverance from a great peril and affliction.' She was met at Temple Bar by the lord mayor and other civic dignitaries, and the gates were closed after she had entered the city. An immense crowd joined the procession, and displayed an enthusiasm on her behalf which even exceeded every previous demonstration. But in the midst of all these tokens of popular sympathy, the poor lone woman felt keenly her desolate position. 'I do, indeed, feel thankful,' she wrote; 'but, alas, it comes too late. She who would have rejoiced with me at her mother's triumph is lost to me. No one, in fact, cares for me; and this business has been more cared for as a political affair than as the cause of a poor forlorn woman. I feel very unwell, fatigued, and *épuisé*. I wonder my head is not quite bewildered with all I have suffered; and it is not over yet with me. Many people call on me now who never did before. I will not quarrel with their respect, though it is shown me rather late in the day, and when they cannot well help it.'

The close of the session was marked by a paltry and discreditable manœuvre on the part of the Government, to prevent the reception by the Commons of a communication from the queen. On the 23rd of November, as soon as the Speaker had

taken the chair, Mr. Denman rose and said he had a message to present from Her Majesty. At this moment the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod entered the House to summon the members to attend in the House of Peers, but shouts of 'Withdraw,' 'Withdraw,' 'Denman proceed,' 'Shame,' prevented a word of his message being heard. When he had retired, Tierney declared that, as the message had been wholly inaudible, its purport could not be known. The Speaker, however, left the chair, and proceeded to the Lords, followed by Castlereagh, Vansittart, and their supporters. Amid a scene of great excitement, the chancellor prorogued the Parliament, the customary speech from, or in the name of the king, having been omitted. This very contemptible trick, so completely in keeping with the previous Ministerial proceedings in the case, did not prevent the publication of the message. It contained an intimation that the queen had received from the Ministry an offer of a grant of money, and of a residence, until a new Session of Parliament could be held; but this offer she had had 'no hesitation in refusing, as she felt that she could no longer receive from the ministers what she is well assured the liberality of the House of Commons would have granted, as alike essential to the dignity of the throne, and demanded by the plainest principles of justice.' So ended a session, the proceedings of which it is impossible to contemplate without feelings of mingled indignation and shame.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Arbitrary Acts of the King of Spain—Inquisition Restored—Discontent among the Soldiers—The Floridas sold by Spain to the United States—Revolt of the Spanish Colonies in South America—Outbreak of Yellow Fever among the troops at Cadiz—Mutiny among the Troops in Andalusia—The Constitution Proclaimed—The King swears Fidelity to it—Important Reforms made by the Cortes—Revolution in Portugal—Character and Conduct of the King of the two Sicilies—The Secret Societies of the Carbonari—Revolution at Naples and in Sicily—Congress at Troppau—March of the Austrian Army upon Naples—Revolution in Piedmont—Abdication of the King—Suppression of the Revolution—Circular of the Allied Sovereigns issued at Laybach—Greek Insurrection—Outrages committed against the Greek Clergy—Surrender of Turkish Garrisons in the Morea—Massacre by the Turks of the inhabitants of the Island of Scio—The Turkish Flagship blown up at Scio, and that of the Captain Brey at Tenedos—The town of Nauplia taken by the Greeks.

WHILE Great Britain was thus agitated by the miserable disputes between the king and queen, the continental countries were in a state of great excitement in consequence of the arbitrary measures of their sovereigns, and their violation of the solemn promises which they had made, during the contest with Napoleon, to confer constitutional privileges on their subjects. The Spanish monarch took the lead in the adoption of measures which in no long time issued in a revolution and a cruel war. At the time of Ferdinand's return to his throne, the Cortes had rendered itself obnoxious to the great body of the people by its democratic views and its oppressive measures. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Assembly, the king promulgated a decree on the 4th of May, 1814, annulling all its acts, and assuming absolute power to himself to conduct the Government. He caused a number of the deputies to be arrested, and on his own authority condemned some of them to death, and many others to imprisonment of the severest kind. The Inquisition was at the same time restored, and was instructed to set its frightful machinery in motion against all persons suspected of liberal opinions. The priests became once more the sole directors of the royal conscience, and the reign of ecclesiastical bigotry and absolute authority was completely reconstituted in the country.

Ferdinand, while abolishing the Cortes of 1812, had promised that he would lose

no time in convening a new Cortes; but his promise remained unfulfilled. In no long time the arbitrary acts of the king and his monkish advisers roused the dormant spirit of the Spanish people, and facts, which it was impossible to conceal, excited a strong feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the country. Bribery and venality had completely drained the treasury, and the army remained unpaid. Armed bands of guerillas, who were simply an organized banditti, swarmed over the country and committed, without check or punishment, all sorts of atrocities. Secret societies, in spite of the Inquisition and its emissaries, existed in most of the principal towns, and an active correspondence was kept up by the various branches. At Cadiz, the head-quarters of the Liberals, a plan was formed for the overthrow of the Government, and arrangements were made throughout the provinces to carry it into effect. Serious disturbances broke out in different parts of the country, and were suppressed with a severity which greatly increased the public discontent. But the king, who was completely under the influence of the *Camarilla*, composed of his personal attendants and priestly counsellors, obstinately refused to fulfil his promise to grant a constitution founded on liberal principles; and in the difficulty of finding competent persons to carry on the Government in accordance with his arbitrary behests, there were no less than twenty-five changes in the Ministry between 1814 and

1820—most of them sudden, and attended with severities in the Spanish fashion. It was evident that a government conducted on these principles could not maintain its ground, and the downfall of the Spanish *Camarilla* and its tools was at last brought about by the revolt of the Spanish colonies in South America and the mutiny of the army. Several conspiracies had been formed among the officers for the restoration of the abrogated constitution. Three of the leaders, Perlico, Lacy, and Vidal, were taken and executed; but Mina, the fourth, and most formidable, made his escape to France. All who were suspected of being favourable to the plot were put to the torture or thrown into prison. But as the arrears due to the troops remained unpaid, these cruel proceedings had no effect in removing the discontent of the soldiers, who only waited an opportunity to rise in arms against the king and his unpopular advisers; and they had not long to wait.

The Spanish colonies in South America, unable to tolerate longer the arbitrary conduct and the extortion of the viceroys appointed to rule them, had revolted against the dominion of the mother country; and nothing but the most decisive measures could restore its authority over them. But the Spanish treasury was empty; the army discontented; the people, suffering under all the evils of bad government, were poverty-stricken and distressed, and utterly unable to furnish the means of replenishing the treasury or equipping an army and navy to reduce the rebellious colonists to subjection. 'Nothing I could say,' wrote a British resident, 'could convey to you an adequate idea of the wretchedness, misery, want of credit, confidence, and trade, which exist from one end of the country to the other. The army is naked and unpaid; navy, there is none; and the roads are covered with bands of forty or fifty robbers each.' In this extremity the Spanish Government was forced to dispose of a portion of its colonial possessions, called the Floridas, to the United States for five millions of dollars, getting

rid at the same time of a large claim for injuries done to American commerce.

The Government was thus enabled to purchase some old frigates from Russia to convey a body of soldiers across the Atlantic to suppress the revolt of the colonists; but by a singular fatality the preparations for this expedition were the means of overthrowing the despotism at home. An army of 23,000 men was collected for embarkation in the neighbourhood of Cadiz in the spring of 1819; but the crazy worn-out vessels purchased from Russia were found quite unfit for such a voyage without being thoroughly repaired. These repairs necessarily occupied a considerable time, and in the interval the ill-fed, ill-clothed, and unpaid troops, who were from the first indisposed to serve against the colonists, began to conspire against the Government. It is alleged that the commander himself, O'Donnell, Count del Abisbal, was cognizant of the plot, and betrayed it to the Ministry. He was commissioned to suppress it, and, having assembled a considerable force, he surrounded the camp of the mutineers and arrested the principal conspirators. Three thousand of their followers were embarked and despatched to South America, but on their arrival they immediately joined the insurgent colonists. The home Government distrusting O'Donnell, deprived him of his command, and thus converted him into a formidable enemy. A serious outbreak of yellow fever at Cadiz compelled the Government to postpone the main expedition and to remove the troops to some distance from that town, thus leaving the members of the secret societies at liberty to prosecute their schemes without hindrance.

The pestilence raged for several months, and cut off not less than 5000 persons. As soon as it abated, the Government renewed their preparations for the expedition, and the embarkation of the troops, amounting to 16,000 or 18,000 men, was fixed for January, 1820. But, on the first of that

month, a mutiny suddenly broke out among the troops in Andalusia. Colonel Riego, an officer of energy and experience, drew out his men, and proclaimed at their head, amid approving acclamations, the constitution of 1812. Marching rapidly upon the town of Arcos where the headquarters of the army were established, he succeeded in surprising Calderon, the commander-in-chief, with all his staff. Having been joined by Lieutenant-colonel Quiroga, who had been under arrest for his share in the previous mutiny, but had contrived to make his escape, Riego, with a force now amounting to 5000 men, made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Cadiz. The great body of the people held aloof, and showed no disposition to support the movement of the soldiers. Riego led a flying column through the neighbouring provinces, proclaiming the constitution, but received no countenance from the inhabitants. Don Joseph O'Donnell, brother of the celebrated general of that name, at the head of a body of cavalry, pursued the insurgents, and compelled them to take refuge among the mountains of Ronda in Granada, while Quiroga, with 4000 men, was hopelessly shut up by General Freyer in the Isle of Leon. At this critical moment, when the insurrection in the south of Spain seemed on the point of being suppressed, a rising took place in Galicia, the extreme northwest of the country. The troops stationed at Corunna, on hearing the news from Andalusia, disarmed the guard at the Government House, arrested the captain-general, Vinegas, who refused to join the movement, and proclaimed the constitution of 1812. A similar scene took place at Ferrol on the 23rd of February, and two days later the celebrated General Mina, after six years' exile in France, reappeared in Navarre, the scene of his former exploits, and, putting himself at the head of a body of his partisans, assumed the title of Commander of the Constitutional Army of the North of Spain.

These movements excited great alarm in the Cabinet at Madrid, and it was clearly

seen that, as the disaffection existed among the soldiers rather than the people, to send troops to Galicia or Navarre, would in all probability have no other effect than to swell the number of the insurgents. Under these circumstances, it was resolved to make an attempt to conciliate the people by announcing His Majesty's intention to carry out some changes in the Council of State. But this step only betrayed the weakness of the Government, and had no influence on the opinions and feelings of the public. At this critical moment O'Donnell, Count del Abisbal, the most distinguished of all the Spanish generals, hastily left Madrid for Ocana, where the regiment of one of his brothers was quartered, and proclaimed the constitution. His great military reputation at once gained him the adhesion of all the troops stationed in that district. As soon as the news of O'Donnell's defection reached Madrid, the *Camarilla* saw that resistance was hopeless, and they persuaded Ferdinand to yield to the demands of the insurgents. Finding that no other resource was left him, he consented to convene the Cortes, and to swear fidelity to the constitution.

These events occurred early in March, 1820. The Cortes assembled on the 9th of July, and the oath of the king to maintain the constitution and the new order of things was taken with all due solemnity in their presence. Their proceedings were on the whole conducted with great moderation. They indeed decreed that the persons who in 1814 had taken part with the king in destroying the constitution should be declared to be for ever disqualified for holding any public office; but they recalled the *Afrancesados* (those who took the oath to support the French dynasty) from banishment, and restored them to all their rights as citizens. They abolished all existing entails of landed property, and all seigniorial privileges and jurisdictions; re-organized the militia, and made reductions in the civil list and in the expenditure of several public departments. Various other im-

portant reforms were made, for the purpose of securing personal rights and liberties; 'new commercial regulations were adopted; the press was declared free; all the convents and monasteries except eight were dissolved, and the revenues were ordered to be applied to the payment of the national debt.'

It could scarcely be expected that the adjoining country of Portugal should remain unaffected by the revolution which had taken place in Spain, and the political situation of that country made it ready at a moment's notice to follow the example of the Spanish liberals. In 1807 the Regent of Portugal and his court had quitted Lisbon and emigrated to Brazil on the invasion of his kingdom by the French. Ever since that time Portugal had been without a court, and had, in fact, been treated as a mere province of its own Transatlantic colony. It knew nothing of its sovereign or government, except through the agents, to whom his authority had been delegated. There could be little attachment on the part of the people to a court which they never saw. Marshal Beresford, who had organized the Portuguese army during the war with France, and was still its commander, perceived the danger likely to arise from this state of public feeling, and early in April, 1820, he embarked for Brazil, in order to consult with the court respecting the measures which should be adopted in the altered circumstances of the country; but before he could return, the anticipated outbreak had taken place. In Portugal, as in Spain, the revolution was the immediate work of a discontented soldiery.

The flame first broke out at Oporto. On the 24th of August the troops stationed there, headed by Don Bernardo Sepúlveda, the eldest son of Viscount Berbadeza, a young man of high character and ability, and of a very old family, proclaimed their resolution to establish a constitutional government and restore the Cortes, and they appointed a provisional Junta to carry this resolution into effect. The regency at

Lisbon, consisting of the Cardinal-Patriarch, and four noblemen, issued a proclamation denouncing the movement as the 'interested and impotent conspiracy of a few wretches,' and calling upon the Portuguese to preserve inviolate their allegiance to their king. A strong force, under Count Amaranti, was at the same time ordered to march upon Oporto; but on their approach to that place the soldiers went over in a body to the insurgents. A few days later (5th of September) the governor of the province of Minho publicly proclaimed his adherence to the movement. It was in vain that the regency summoned a meeting of the Cortes and proposed that they should recommend the king either to return to Portugal himself, or to delegate to some member of his family the government of his European dominions. Their concessions came too late. On the 15th of September the troops at Lisbon assembled on the great square of the city and raised the cry of 'Long live the king! long live the constitution!' which was enthusiastically received by all classes of the citizens. A provisional government was immediately formed, and the revolution was virtually consummated. It was agreed that the two Juntas should be blended; but at first there was a difference of opinion among them as to the measures that should be adopted. The Lisbon Junta were desirous of adhering as much as possible to the forms presented by the ancient constitution, while the Oporto party were in favour of a more popular system. It was at last agreed that the election of deputies to the Cortes should be made according to the mode followed in Spain; in other words, that one deputy should be elected for every 30,000 persons inhabiting the country, but that no other part of the Spanish constitution should be adopted without the sanction of the Cortes.

The continental sovereigns regarded these movements in Spain and Portugal with great uneasiness; but they were much more alarmed at a revolution which broke out at this time at Naples. On the downfall

of Napoleon, Ferdinand IV., third son of Charles IV., King of Spain, was restored to his Neapolitan dominions, from which he had been expelled by the French in 1806. Like the rest of the reinstated rulers, he had made liberal promises to his subjects, which he utterly failed to fulfil. Indeed, it subsequently transpired that, by a secret treaty signed at Vienna in 1815, he had bound himself not to introduce into his kingdom 'any change which could not be reconciled either with the ancient institutions of the monarchy, or with the principles adopted by the Emperor of Austria in the government of his Italian provinces.' Ferdinand was as profligate and cruel as he was faithless. 'From his childhood to his old age one feeling of humanity never entered his heart.' Under his sway the dungeons were crowded with the noblest of his subjects, and the judicial murders which he perpetrated have stamped his memory with indelible infamy. The Jesuits were restored; many of the monasteries which had been suppressed were re-established; the mortmain laws, which were a check on improper deathbed bequests, were repealed; the taxes upon land were increased, and high duties imposed both on exports and imports; elementary education was restricted in its extent, and placed entirely in the hands of the clergy; some of the ablest professors in the universities were removed from office on account of their supposed liberal views; private teachers or lecturers were not permitted to open schools without a license from the ordinary and the police agent; the freedom of the press was destroyed, and no work was allowed to be published until it had been subjected to a rigorous scrutiny. To crown all, the taxation was most oppressive, and the imposts were levied in such a way as to add greatly to their burden.

This system of perverse, profligate, and cruel misgovernment excited deep and wide discontent among all classes, and stimulated the organization of the secret societies of the Carbonari, which had been

formed during the French domination, for the purpose of emancipating the Peninsula from a foreign yoke. They originated in the charcoal-burning district of Calabria, and hence took the name of Carbonari, or 'charcoal burners.' Their lodges were ramified throughout Italy, till nearly 700,000 persons, including not a few officers of the army and 40,000 of the provincial militia, were members of this society. It had, however, been for some time in a state of comparative inactivity, when the tidings of the movement in Spain infused new energy into its counsels and operations.

At Naples, as in Spain and Portugal, the infection was first caught by the troops. Early on the morning of the 2nd of July a cavalry regiment, stationed at Nola, a town about twelve miles from Naples, suddenly raised the Carbonari flag (a tricolor of red, blue, and black) amid shouts of 'God, the King, and the Constitution!' They were immediately joined by the garrison of Avelino, a considerable town on the borders of Apulia. The troops sent to quell the revolt made common cause with the insurgents; and General William Pepe, a highly distinguished and experienced officer, having made his escape from Naples on learning that the Government intended to arrest him, put himself at their head. The garrison of the capital and the troops in the provinces speedily followed the example thus set them; and the king, finding resistance hopeless, issued a proclamation, engaging to publish, within eight days, the basis of a constitutional government, and at the same time forming a new cabinet. These concessions, however, did not satisfy the revolutionary party, and their leaders insisted that His Majesty, within twenty-four hours, should intimate his adoption of the Spanish constitution. It is alleged that neither the king nor his ministers, nor any of the citizens, knew anything of this constitution, and that no copy of it even was to be found in Naples. The insurgents, however, were not to be turned from their purpose, and the king had no resource but

to comply with their demands. Ferdinand at first resolved to make a temporary abdication of his authority on behalf of his son, the Duke of Calabria, and appointed him vicar-general of the kingdom. The new vicegerent immediately issued a proclamation, declaring that the Spanish constitution should be adopted in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, under such modifications as the national representatives should think proper to introduce. An impression, however, prevailed that this arrangement was merely a manœuvre on the part of the king to avoid giving a personal pledge to his people that he would comply with their demands, and Ferdinand was in consequence obliged to issue another proclamation, confirming the acts of his son, and pledging his royal word to observe and obey the constitution, and to take an oath to that effect before the provisional Junta which the vicar-general was about to nominate.

The revolution was now completed, and great rejoicings at the result took place all over the country. The army marched in triumph into the capital on the 9th of July, followed by the provincial militia, headed by a priest named Minichini, who had taken a prominent part in the revolt, and the whole city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening. Two days later, the king and his sons took the oath to the new constitution in the presence of the provisional Junta. The Carbonari tricolor was now hoisted on all the forts, and was worn publicly in scarfs and cockades by the royal family and the ministers. On the 16th the whole military force swore allegiance and fidelity to the constitution. The National Assembly, which met shortly after, made a complete reform of the Neapolitan institutions, and replaced the old oppressive laws with new and equitable statutes.

This extraordinary revolution had been effected in Naples in the most peaceable manner, and with the cordial approval of the great body of the people; but a similar movement in Sicily was not effected without bloodshed. Great dissatisfaction pre-

valled in that island on account of the abolition of its parliamentary constitution by the king on the return of the court to Naples in 1815; and this feeling was strengthened by Ferdinand's declaration, that the two kingdoms should henceforth constitute only one, in direct violation of one of the most essential articles of the compact, which decreed that the administration of the island should be maintained entirely separate from that of the kingdom of Naples. The news of the insurrection at Naples reached Palermo on the 14th of July, and produced great excitement. On the following day, which happened to be the day of St. Rosalia, the great national festival of the Sicilians, the populace assumed the tricolor, along with a yellow colour, the distinctive emblem of the islanders, and received the members of the Government with shouts of 'The constitution and independence for ever!' A tumult speedily broke out. A mob, led by a Franciscan monk of the name of Vaglica, attacked and captured the forts of Sanita and Castel-mare, and supplied themselves with the arms and the ammunition which they found in them. They then broke open the prisons and liberated 700 or 800 galley slaves, whom they furnished with arms. The garrison of the city was next attacked, and after a desperate conflict, the troops, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to give way and abandon the town to the ravages of an infuriated mob. The princes, Cattelica and Aci, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the populace, were massacred, and altogether the number of killed and wounded amounted to about 1200. A provisional Junta was established to carry on the government, and they sent a deputation to Naples to explain the position of affairs; but the Neapolitan Government refused to admit them into the town. An attempt was made by the Junta to establish a general union throughout the island, with a view to assert their national independence; but the proposal met with little support. Early in September, Florentan



Pepe, brother of General William Pepe, commander-in-chief of the Neapolitan army, was sent with 4000 men to restore order. He arrived before Palermo on the 25th of September, and offered the inhabitants very favourable terms if they would agree to lay down their arms. A feeble attempt at resistance was made by the insurgents; but on the 5th of October the terms of capitulation were signed on board an English cutter in the road. On the following day General Pepe took possession of the town, and proclaimed the Spanish constitution. Coletta, who soon after arrived at Palermo with a reinforcement of 5000 men, superseded Pepe in the command, dissolved the Junta, and disarmed the citizens.

These successive revolutions in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, excited no little alarm among the great continental powers, who considered them 'full of danger for the peace of Europe.' 'The example of an army making a revolution' was, in their eyes, 'infinitely deplorable.' They viewed with especial consternation the revolution at Naples, where a kingdom had 'crumbled before a handful of insurgents, that half a battalion of good soldiers might have crushed in an instant.' The Emperor of Austria, whom his brother despots regarded as 'the natural guardian and protector of public tranquillity in Italy,' had peculiar cause for uneasiness. It was well known that the feeling of discontent with the existing government had taken deeper root, and was more widely diffused, in the Italian dominions of Austria than in any other part of the Peninsula. Nothing was more likely, therefore, than that the revolutionary flood, which had carried everything before it in Naples, would speedily overwhelm the Austrian domination in the adjoining provinces. Alarmed at this danger, the emperor resolved, with the sanction of his brother potentates, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, to restore by force of arms the old constitution of Naples and the absolute authority of Ferdinand over his subjects. With this view he had collected an

army of 80,000 men in his Italian provinces, to be in readiness for action when the proper time arrived.

A congress was held at Troppau about the end of October, 1820, for the purpose of arranging the measures which were necessary to undo the work of the revolution in Naples and Sicily. It was attended by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and by Count Hardenberg as the representative of the King of Prussia, who was unwell. Lord Stewart, the brother of Lord Castlereagh, was present, but did not take any part in the proceedings.

It was quickly and unanimously agreed that they could not recognize a government which had been established by revolutionary violence, and the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg peremptorily refused to receive the Princes Careati and Cimitoli, the envoys of the new Ministry. They expressed a hope that France and England would unite with them in the measures which were necessary to secure the tranquillity of the Italian States, and they invited the King of Naples to attend in person another conference about to be held at Laybach, when the question would be definitely settled what steps should be taken with respect to the Neapolitan revolution.

The King of France at once intimated his entire concurrence in the views of the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian sovereigns. The British Government, however, were careful not to commit themselves to the schemes of the continental despots; but they stationed a naval squadron in the Bay of Naples with instructions to watch over the safety of the king and of the royal family. There is good reason, indeed, to believe that Lord Liverpool was decidedly opposed to the 'mutual insurance' system which had been established by the leading continental Powers, though there can be little doubt that he and his colleagues heartily approved of the interference of Austria in the affairs of Naples.

The Neapolitans, however, were not dis-

posed tamely to submit to the dictation of the despotic sovereigns, and the Government immediately organized and armed the people, put the fortresses of the kingdom in a state of defence, and occupied and strengthened the passes of the Apennines. The king could not venture to refuse the invitation of his brother monarchs to meet them at Laybach, and on the 7th of December he intimated to the Parliament his intention to accept it. With the hope of reconciling the people to his absence, he promised that he would do all in his power to secure to them the enjoyment of a constitution which he declared to be as liberal as it was wise. The Parliament, however, were by no means satisfied with this proposed step on the part of the king, and they manifested great mistrust respecting the result of his meeting with the Powers. After several communications had passed between them and their sovereign, they at last gave a reluctant consent on the assurance that his going to Laybach would have no other object than to avert a war and maintain the constitution in its integrity. On the 13th of December, Ferdinand embarked on board the *Vengeur*, a British man-of-war, and proceeded to Leghorn, whence he journeyed by land to Laybach, which he reached on the 28th. The administration of affairs in his absence was intrusted to his eldest son, the Duke of Calabria, with the new title of Regent of the kingdom.

When Ferdinand reached Laybach he was informed that his brother sovereigns had already settled their plans, and were fully determined to abolish the constitution which his people, with his own approbation, had established. The means employed to bring about the revolution in question, they said, and the principles professed by the leaders of the movement, were calculated to endanger both the security of the neighbouring states and the peace of Europe. They did not regard the Neapolitan revolution as an insulated event; they recognized in its character the same spirit of discontent and disorder which had so long desolated

the world, and which had lately again shown itself, in more than one state of Europe, under forms perhaps less frightful than before, but which were essentially dangerous to the maintenance of social order. They had, therefore, determined to unite their efforts to put an end to disorders which were as pernicious to the country they directly concerned as they were pregnant with danger to every other. They proceeded to declare that, 'as soon as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, by the spontaneous suppression of its present system, shall have returned to its ancient and friendly relations with the States of Europe, the Allied Powers will only have one wish—that of seeing the king, surrounded by the talents and supported by the zeal of the wisest and best among his subjects, establish for the future an order of things which should carry in itself the pledge of its stability, and appear not only conformable to the true interests of his people, but calculated to re-assure the neighbouring states with respect to their safety and peace.' They intimated, in conclusion, that if the present system was not spontaneously suppressed—in other words, that if the former absolute system was not restored—they would have recourse to arms, in order to destroy the existing constitution.

The wretched and faithless old King of Naples, in compliance with the wishes, or rather the orders of his arbitrary brother potentates, put his name to a letter addressed to his son, the Duke of Calabria, informing him that he saw no other means of averting war than the immediate abolition of the constitution which he had sworn to maintain. At the same time circulars were sent to the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian ministers at Naples, instructing them to make known to the Prince Regent that the determinations of the allies were in entire conformity with the statements made in the king's letter, and to point out to him the calamities which would inevitably follow if he should refuse to comply with the advice which had been given him.

A separate despatch was sent to inform the prince that, even if 'the condition proposed by the Allied Powers was accepted, the Powers would further exact some guarantees which were judged to be necessary for the moment to secure the tranquillity of the neighbouring states;' in other words, that the Neapolitan territories were to be occupied by a strong body of Austrian troops. In pursuance of the resolution thus intimated, a convention was signed on the 2nd of February at Laybach, providing that an Austrian army, in the name of the three courts of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, should be placed at the disposal of the King of the Two Sicilies, to be supported at the cost of that monarch. The period of occupation was limited to three years.

While these arrangements were being made to destroy the constitution and to restrict the liberties of the people of Naples, the Parliament was steadily pursuing its work of national reform. The remains of the feudal system in Sicily were abrogated; the right of primogeniture was abolished throughout the whole kingdom, and various laws were adopted for the purpose of securing equal rights and privileges to all classes. The legislative body finished its labours for the session on the 31st of January, and was closed by the prince regent, who adverted in his speech to the critical condition of the country, and requested the deputies not to quit the capital, as it might be necessary to convene an extraordinary meeting of Parliament.

The king's letter arrived on the 7th of February, and on the 9th the ministers of the Allied Powers had an audience of the prince regent for the purpose of communicating the instructions they had received. They added that the Austrian army in Italy had received orders to march upon Naples, and that if it should be repulsed, a Russian army was ready to march to its assistance. A meeting of the national Parliament was convened on the 13th, which unanimously resolved that it could not agree to the propositions of the Powers, destructive as those

were of the constitution, and that all necessary measures should be taken for the safety of the state. A loan of 3,000,000 ducats was opened to defray the expense to be incurred in the defence of the country, and the national guard were called out in every part of the kingdom; the force is said to have amounted to 150,000 men.

On the 5th of February the Austrian army of 52,000 men, under General Frimont, began its march, and crossed the Po at five different points. A body of troops, consisting of forty battalions of infantry, with some troops of cavalry and artillery, under General William Pepe, was stationed on the northern frontier of the kingdom to defend the mountainous district of the Abruzzi. If the Neapolitans had been hearty in their resolution to resist the invasion of their country, the passes of the Abruzzi afforded numerous strong positions where the march of the Austrians might have been arrested. But the troops were badly equipped and imperfectly trained, and evidently had no heart to fight. A stand was, indeed, made by General Pepe at Ilici on the 7th of March; but after a brief skirmish, the front line of the Neapolitan army was driven back upon the militia behind them, and the whole force fell into confusion and dispersed among the mountains. The main army had been posted at San Germano, on the Garigliano, under General Canascosa, for the protection of the capital; but on the first appearance of the enemy, it fell back in disorder without firing a shot. The general made an attempt to induce his troops to occupy an entrenched position near Capua; but they became completely disorganized. A considerable number of them passed over to the enemy, the militia regiments broke up and dispersed to their homes, and the royal guard alone preserved anything like order and discipline. Farther resistance was hopeless, and a convention between the Austrian and Neapolitan armies was signed at Capua on the 23rd of March, by which the city of Naples and the fortresses of Gaeta and

Pescara were surrendered to the invaders. Ferdinand returned to his capital on the 15th of May, and immediately issued a proclamation, abolishing the constitution and restoring the old *régime*. The army was disbanded, and the military service was entrusted to the Austrians. Measures of such severity were taken against those who expressed dissatisfaction with this counter revolution that even the court of Vienna found it necessary to remonstrate against proceedings, which were exasperating the people to such an extent as to render it probable that it would be necessary to extend the occupation of the country by the Austrian troops beyond the stipulated period.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary spirit had extended to Piedmont, the king of which, Victor Emmanuel, was the son-in-law of Ferdinand of Naples. The Secret Society, which had originated in the south of Italy, had extended its branches to the northern provinces, and had gained over a considerable number of the troops. On the 10th of March a portion of the garrison at Alessandria raised the Italian tricolor—green, red, and blue—occupied the citadel, and proclaimed the Spanish constitution. Their example was followed, on the 12th, by a mixed body of students, citizens, and soldiers at Turin, who obtained admission to the citadel, and were joined by the great mass of the inhabitants in demanding the constitution and immediate war with Austria. The king, however, refused to yield to their demands; but, deserted by his troops, he was powerless to resist, and on the following day he abdicated his throne and proceeded to Nice. The crown should have devolved upon his brother, Charles Felix, the Duke of Genoa; but he was at the time absent at Modena. The king, therefore, nominated Charles Albert, Prince Carignano, heir presumptive to the throne, Regent of the kingdom; and in compliance with the urgent demand of the soldiers, the citizens, and magistrates, the prince immediately proclaimed the constitution. On

the following day a new ministry was formed, and a Junta of fifteen was appointed to assist them in carrying on the government. The example of the capital was speedily followed by the provinces, and the triumph of the revolution seemed complete.

The Duke of Genoa, however, on receiving intelligence of these events, solemnly protested, on the 16th of March, against any change being made in the Government, and announced that he would regard as rebels all who should take upon them to proclaim a constitution, or should attempt to derogate from the royal authority. On the same day he nominated the Governor of Novara, Count de Latour, commander-in-chief of the royal army, and instructed him to take immediate steps to suppress the insurrection. At the same time the allied sovereigns determined to take prompt and decided measures for this purpose. Instructions were sent from Vienna to form an army of reserve in Lombardy. Strong reinforcements were under orders to march from Germany, and the Emperor of Russia took steps to collect an army of not less than 100,000 men in the southern provinces of his empire, to assist in extinguishing an insurrection, which it was feared would extend itself to the whole of Italy.

The liberal party, however, though somewhat daunted by the firm attitude assumed by Charles Felix, determined to resist the invaders of their country, on which the prince regent, on the night of the 21st, fled to Novara, and there declared his readiness to submit to the king's pleasure. On the 23rd he sent to the Junta his resignation of his office. Mainly through the exertions of Count Santa Rosa, an able and energetic man, who had accepted the ministry of the war department, a considerable body of troops was assembled on the frontiers of Lombardy, with the view of carrying the war into the enemy's territory. But it soon became evident that the cause was desperate. The force at the disposal

of Santa Rosa did not exceed 6000 men, whilst the royalist general, Latour, had from 7000 to 8000 under his command, and the Austrian corps, formed on the left bank of the Ticino, amounted to nearly 20,000 men.

On the 4th of April, General Latour crossed the Sesia, and marched towards Turin. His advanced posts were within eight leagues of the city when their progress was opposed by a body of 2800 infantry and 1100 cavalry, under Colonel Regis. The royalist general on this fell back beyond the Sesia, followed by the insurgent commander. Meanwhile Count Bubna, the Austrian general, had crossed the Ticino, and on the 8th of April was in the immediate vicinity of the royalist forces. Indeed, there is no doubt that it was for the purpose of obtaining the assistance of the Austrian corps that Latour had retreated to Vercelli. Colonel Regis, finding himself opposed by an overwhelming force, was compelled to fall back. His men sustained the attacks of the enemy for some time with great firmness; but they were at length thrown into confusion, and the greater part of them dispersed themselves among the mountains, or returned to their homes. The Provisional Junta resigned on the 9th of April. General Latour entered Turin next day, and Count Bubna took possession of the citadel of Alessandria on the 11th.

The Duke of Genoa had hitherto declined to assume the sovereignty or the title which his brother had laid down, until Victor Emmanuel had confirmed his abdication in circumstances which could leave no doubt that the act was entirely voluntary. This was done on the 19th of April, and Charles Felix then assumed the title of King, and entered upon the duties of the royal office. A special commission was appointed by him for the trial and punishment of those who had taken a prominent part in the revolution. The property of forty-three of the leaders was placed under sequestration, and the greater part of those who had fled were

condemned to death and executed in effigy. An amnesty was then published; but a long list of persons, excepted from its benefit, greatly diminished the satisfaction with which this act of grace was received. The principal fortresses of the kingdom were garrisoned by Austrian troops, of whom a corps of 12,000 was placed at the disposal of the King of Sardinia. Revolution was thus, in the meantime, effectually crushed both in the north and in the south of the Italian peninsula.

The facility with which the revolutions in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and in Piedmont, had been suppressed, afforded the highest satisfaction to the allied sovereigns at Laybach. Elated by the success of their policy, they issued a circular despatch to their ministers at foreign courts, in which principles utterly subversive of the rights of nations were openly proclaimed, and the result of their unwarrantable interference with the proceedings of the people and parliaments of the Two Sicilies was boastfully described in highly offensive terms. 'The edifice,' they said, 'which had been reared by revolt, fragile in its superstructure and weak in its foundation, resting only on the cunning of some, and upon the momentary blindness of others, condemned by an immense majority of the nation, and odious even to the army which was enrolled to defend it, crumbled to dust at the first contact with the regular troops collected to destroy it. The legitimate authority is restored, the factions have been dispersed, the Neapolitan people are delivered from the tyranny of those impudent conspirators, who, deluding them with the dreams of false liberty, in reality inflicted upon them the most bitter vexations. This important restriction had been completed by the counsels and the acts of the allied sovereigns. 'During the progress of these great transactions,' it had been clearly seen that the revolutions in Spain and Portugal, the Two Sicilies, and Piedmont, were the effects of a 'vast conspiracy against all established power.' 'The leaders

of this impious league, indifferent as to what may result from the general destruction they meditate, careless about all stable and permanent organization, aim merely at the fundamental basis of society. The allied sovereigns could not fail to perceive that there was only one barrier to oppose to this devastating torrent. *To preserve what is legally established*—such was, as it ought to be, the invariable principle of their policy, the point of departure, and the final object of all their resolutions. Not that these monarchs had the least disposition to thwart real ameliorations, or ‘the reform of abuses which creep into the best governments,’ but ‘*useful or necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of states, ought only to emanate from the free-will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power.*’ All that deviates from this line necessarily leads to disorder, commotions, and evils far more insufferable than those which they pretend to remedy. Penetrated with this eternal truth, the sovereigns have not hesitated to proclaim it with frankness and vigour; they have declared that, in respecting the rights and independence of all legitimate power, they regarded as legally null, and as disavowed by the principles which constitute the public right of Europe, all pretended reform operated by revolt and open hostility.’ Although the policy of the allied sovereigns had been thus crowned with success, the circular intimated that their work was not yet completed. The Congress was to meet again in the course of next year, to determine how long it would be necessary to continue the occupation of the territories of Naples and Piedmont, and thus to ‘consolidate the tranquillity of the Peninsula.’

The publication of this circular excited mingled indignation and alarm among the people of Great Britain. The real nature and object of the Holy Alliance among the continental despots had now been avowed. Every attempt on the part of the people to

obtain a reform of their institutions was to be forcibly suppressed, and no improvements were to be sanctioned, or even tolerated, except those which proceeded from the spontaneous good-will of the sovereigns themselves. If that principle had been acted on in the United Kingdom, not one of the ‘useful or necessary changes’ that had been made ‘in legislation and in the administration of the state’ would have ever taken place. One and all had been extorted from successive sovereigns by the resolute determination of the people. That a policy of this kind should have been avowed by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and the kings of Prussia and France, excited no surprise. They had acted upon it consistently in the government of their own subjects. But a strong and well-founded suspicion was entertained that the British ministers had given their countenance, as far as they could venture to do so, to the principles announced in the circular, and acted on in the cases of Naples and Piedmont.

Lord Castlereagh, in one of his despatches, had said, ‘It is impossible not to perceive a great moral change coming over Europe, and that the principles of freedom are in full operation. The danger is that the transition may be too sudden to ripen into anything likely to make the world either better or happier. We have new constitutions launched in France, Spain, Holland, and Sicily. Let us see the result before we encourage further attempts. The attempts may be made, and we must abide the consequences; but I am sure it is better to retard than accelerate the operation of this most hazardous principle which is abroad.’ As might have been expected, Lord Castlereagh disapproved of the Italians ‘hazarding their own internal quiet’ by an effort at this time to reform their institutions, although he took care not to give publicity to his real sentiments. But to those who were in his confidence he frankly avowed that he was favourable to the interference of Austria in the affairs of Italy, and intimated that the profession of neutrality, while Austrian

troops were destroying the constitutions which the people had adopted, was simply to avoid hostile criticism in the House of Commons. Some of his letters, indeed, sent at this period to his brother, Lord Stewart, 'were written expressly to throw dust in the eyes of Parliament;' and in using this expression, he added—'You will understand this, and know what to say to Metternich.' 'In fact,' says Greville, 'while obliged to pretend to disapprove of the continental system of the Holy Alliance, he secretly gave Metternich every assurance of his private concurrence; and it was not till long after Mr. Canning's accession that Metternich could be persuaded of his sincerity in opposing their views—always fancying that he was obliged to act a part, as his predecessor had done, to keep the House of Commons quiet.' At the time when Austria was preparing to suppress by force the revolution in Naples and Piedmont, Lord Castlereagh wrote to his brother—'We desire to leave Austria unembarrassed in her course; but we must claim for ourselves the same freedom of action. It is for the interest of Austria that such should be our position. It enables us in our Parliament to consider, and consequently to respect, her measures as the acts of an independent state—a doctrine which we could not maintain if we had rendered ourselves by a previous concert parties to those acts; and it places us in a situation to do justice in argument to the considerations which may influence her counsels, without in doing so being thrown upon the defence of our own conduct.' The Duke of Wellington held the same views even more strongly. At the moment that the Austrian troops were marching upon Naples, he wrote to Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador, expressing his great regret that the occupation of the country by Austrian troops was intended to continue for only three years; while, in his opinion, it ought to have been stipulated that the occupation should last for seven. The people of the United Kingdom were not aware of these

facts; but they saw with uneasiness and dissatisfaction British ambassadors present at Troppan and Laybach while the congress was held, and a British fleet stationed in the Bay of Naples while an Austrian army was on its march to destroy the constitution which the people had chosen, and they strongly suspected that the British ministers had secretly encouraged the continental despots in their nefarious schemes against the liberties of Europe.

The circular of the allied sovereigns was issued on the 8th of December, 1820; but Lord Castlereagh did not reply to it until the 19th of January, 1821, after the unauthorized publication of the document in a German newspaper, and only four days before the meeting of Parliament. It was therefore strongly suspected that even the mild protest which he at last made against the policy avowed in the circular would not have been made, had it not been brought to the knowledge of the public at this time; and there can be little doubt that this suspicion was well founded.

So far as it went, however, the answer of Lord Castlereagh was tolerably satisfactory. It declared that the system of measures proposed by the allied Powers was 'in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws' of Great Britain. 'But even if this decisive objection did not exist, the British Government would nevertheless regard the principles on which those measures rest to be such as could not be safely admitted as a system of international law. Their adoption would eventually sanction, and in the hands of less beneficent monarchs might hereafter lead to a much more frequent and extensive interference in the internal transactions of states, than they are persuaded is intended with respect to the particular case of Naples. The British Government did not hesitate to express their strong disapprobation of the mode and circumstances under which that resolution was understood to have been effected; but they at the same time expressly declared to the several allied courts, that they should not

consider themselves called upon or justified to advise an interference on the part of this country. They fully admitted, however, that other European states might feel themselves differently circumstanced, and they professed that it was not their purpose to interfere with the course which such states might think fit to adopt with a view to their security; provided only that they were ready to give every reasonable assurance that their views were not directed to purposes of aggrandisement subversive of the territorial system of Europe, as established by the late treaties.'

A British minister of state could scarcely have said less in commenting upon a policy so diametrically opposed to the traditions of his own country, and the principles on which its constitution and government had been founded. But, as we have seen, the effect even of this mild expression of disapproval was to a great extent neutralized by the private communications of Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington. It was fortunate for the Ministry that this correspondence was not published at the time, for even as it was they had some difficulty in defending their proceedings against the attacks of the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament. It was pointed out that there were strong grounds for the suspicion that the Government had by no means been so impartial as they professed, and that they were in reality favourable to the designs of the allied monarchs. The Troppau circular had expressed a confident expectation that England would concur with the other Powers in proceedings which were declared to be 'in perfect harmony with the treaties to which she had already consented,' and the Ministry were called on to state explicitly the grounds on which such a statement was made. There were other incidents which tended to confirm the unfavourable impression which the language of the circular had produced. The British ministry had not ventured to go so far as to imitate the conduct of the allies in breaking off all diplomatic relations

with the new Government at Naples, but they had refused to receive the Prince Cimiteli, the Neapolitan ambassador to this country. They had stationed a British fleet in the Bay of Naples, a step which was universally regarded as a direct menace to the Government, and was resented accordingly. The Neapolitan ministry had, indeed, considered it necessary to demand an explanation on the subject, and had been informed by the British minister at Naples that the fleet was ready to interfere in the event of the royal family being exposed either to insult or danger—a threat which, it was argued, might under certain contingencies have led to the bombardment of Naples.

Strong disapprobation was expressed of the mode in which Lord Castlereagh, in his reply to the circular of the allied Powers, had spoken of the Neapolitan revolution. 'Upon what grounds,' asked Earl Grey, 'was Naples declared to be an exception to the general rule which guaranteed the independence of nations? Look at the situation and conduct of the people who were menaced. No force was offered to independent states; no aggression was threatened; no principles subversive of general order were professed; the laws were preserved and enforced; the sovereign was maintained in his office; and merely because the system on which the Government had formerly been conducted—a system which destroyed the resources and depressed the energies of the people—had been improved, because the power of the king had been limited by his own consent, the Holy Alliance was about to crush this work of reform lest its manifest good might excite neighbouring states to seek for similar advantages. This was the ground of their interference; this was the necessity by which they justified their departure from the principles of international law. There never was in the history of the world a revolution brought about in a more peaceful, inoffensive manner. No blood had been shed; no tumult had taken place; no



property violated. The king had not only been maintained on his throne, but had sanctioned the limitation of his authority; yet it was against this revolution that the vengeance of the allies was denounced, and this country was called on to accede to the interference.'

The Ministry found it no easy matter to vindicate the course which they had adopted in this matter. The principles and proceedings of the allied sovereigns, especially of the Emperor of Austria, were condemned in such strong terms—especially by their own supporters, Lord Ellenborough and Mr. Ward—that they could not venture to say a word in their defence. On the other hand, as they had always in private expressed their approval of Austrian interference in the affairs of Naples, they could not publicly condemn it. Fortunately for them, the Opposition were only imperfectly acquainted with the facts of the case; the official despatches gave no information respecting their private communications with the allied Powers; and the Ministry took care to resist the motions for the production of explanatory papers. In these circumstances, as might have been expected, they were supported by considerable majorities in resisting the attacks of the Opposition on their continental policy.

While Western Europe was thus in a state of commotion, hostilities much more serious and protracted broke out in the East. In the course of last century the Greeks had made repeated attempts to deliver their country from the Turkish yoke, but through the perfidy of the Russian Government these efforts had failed, and had only subjected them to renewed outrages from their oppressors. Various causes, however, were silently preparing the way for another and more successful attempt to vindicate their independence. Through their activity and industry a great part of the trade of Natolia, Macedonia, and Thrace had come into their hands, and at a later period they had obtained almost a monopoly of the trade in

corn between Odessa, Marseilles, Leghorn, and Trieste. A class of capitalists had thus been raised up among the Greeks, and a large commercial navy had been formed, the property of Greek merchants, and manned by Greek sailors. They had purchased from the needy Turkish government permission to carry arms and heavy guns against the pirates who infested their seas, and had thus laid the foundation of a naval force, which proved of immense value in the struggle for their national freedom. The increase of their wealth through trade enabled them to establish schools for the education of their youth at home, and a great number of young men were sent to the universities of Western Europe, where they obtained accurate views respecting the decayed state of the Ottoman empire, and learned how they might turn to advantage the improvements in the arts and sciences which the Turks despised. The conviction thus arose, and steadily gained ground, that nothing more was necessary to accomplish the deliverance of their country from the degrading domination of the Porte than a combined and determined effort by themselves, properly organized, and undertaken at a favourable opportunity. This idea gave birth to a secret society, called the *Hiæteria*, consisting of five orders, the highest of which, called the *Grand Arch*, composed of sixteen members, alone possessed a full knowledge of the society's plans, and was intrusted with the power of issuing general orders, and fixing the time and mode of their execution. The *Grand Arch* had its seat at Moscow, but its branches were ramified through all the southern provinces of Russia and Greece proper, and it had numerous members at Vienna, and even at Paris. The Greek clergy were most zealous in the cause, and most of the primates of the Morea joined the society in 1819. The *Hiæteria* had been spreading its roots through European Turkey for five years before the Ottoman government was aware of its existence. And when at length, by an accidental occurrence, it was apprised

of it, no steps were taken to avert the threatened danger.

The Greeks were eagerly watching for an opportunity of rising against their oppressors when the rebellion of Ali Pasha, by embarrassing the Turkish government, and converting a formidable enemy into a friend, showed that the time had at length come for asserting their independence. In the autumn of 1820 Ali deserted, and betrayed by his officers and troops, and even by two of his own sons, shut himself up in the fortress of Yanina, and prepared to resist to the utmost the assault of the Ottoman army, which had laid siege to the place. In the extremity to which this once powerful chief was reduced he strove to raise up enemies to the Porte in every part of its European dominions; and aware of the designs of the Heterists, he encouraged them to take up arms by a promise of money and assistance. At this critical moment Ipsilanti, a Greek by birth, but a major-general in the Russian service, on the 6th of March, 1821, crossed the Pruth into Moldavia, and called on his countrymen to take up arms. After proclaiming the independence of Greece at Yassy, he marched with 800 men towards Bucharest. He trifled his time, however, upon the road, and did not reach the capital of Wallachia until the 9th of April. The spirit of the people was most favourable, and the apathy of the Turks afforded him ample time to operate; but, owing to his incapacity and indecision, he failed to avail himself of these advantages until the opportunity was lost. He had sent a despatch to the Russian emperor, informing him of the rising, and entreating him to give his support to the liberation of Greece. But Alexander was then at Laybach, concerting with his allies measures for the suppression of the revolution in Naples and Piedmont. At such a crisis, however much he might have wished to weaken Turkey, he could not venture to give any countenance to a popular rising. He therefore disavowed Ipsilanti's proceedings, which he professed to regard as another

effect of the mania that unhappily distinguished the present age, and ordered the insurgent leader to be dismissed from the Russian service. About the end of April a strong body of Turks marched from Silistria to attack the insurgents. A battle took place at Drageschan, in which the Greeks were worsted. The Arnauts and the Albanians and Pandours fled, but the 'sacred battalion,' composed of Greek youths from various parts of Europe, kept their ground and fought with the most desperate courage, till nearly the whole band were destroyed. Their incapable commander shortly afterwards stole away from his troops, and made his escape to the Austrian territory. The insurgents, though deserted by their leader, continued for some time a most resolute partisan warfare. One small body took their stand at Skalkeni, on the Pruth, where they sustained an attack from a Turkish force six times more numerous, till three-fourths of their number had fallen. Another small party, under Yorkaka, or George the Olympian, a heroic youth, shut themselves up in the monastery of Secka, where for six-and-thirty hours they resisted a greatly superior body of Turkish troops, until at last their leader, rather than surrender or fly, fired the powder in his chamber, and blew himself up with four of his attendants.

A general rising had meanwhile taken place in the Morea. On the 2nd of April the standard of independence was raised at Kalavrita, by Archbishop Germanos and Andreas Londres. Two days afterwards a fierce struggle took place at Patras, about thirty miles distant, between the Christians and the Turks, and a part of the town was burned. The Turks, driven from the open country, took refuge in the forts and citadels; and the insurrection spread with such rapidity over the Morea that, within a week after the first shot was fired, a Greek senate assembled at Calamata in Messina, under the presidency of Petras Mavromichalis, Bey of Maina. Hostilities were carried on with divided success. A strong body of Albanians routed the Greeks, who were

posted at Argos, killed 700 of them, and burned the town. On the other-hand, the Kihaya Bey, at the head of 5000 men, on the 27th of May, attacked a Greek detachment stationed at Valtezza, but was repulsed and compelled to flee to Tripolitza with the loss of two pieces of cannon and 400 men. This success contributed not a little to spread and to strengthen the insurrection. The three chief seats of Greek commerce, Hydra, Spezzia, and Psyra, now joined the revolutionary cause, and despatched a small fleet of vessels to proclaim the independence of Greece in the other isles of the *Ægean*. Light-armed ships at the same time scoured the seas and captured every Ottoman trading vessel.

A few days later an insurrection broke out in Roumelia. The peasants of Attica and Bœotia took the field in the beginning of May, captured the town of Athens, and compelled the Turkish inhabitants to seek refuge in the citadel. A similar rising took place in Epirus, Acarnania, and *Ætolia*, and the independent flag was hoisted in Missolonghi in June. The towns of Vrakhorî, Garpande, and Salona were successively carried by assault, and in three months the Turks were driven from a large proportion of the places which they had occupied south of Mount *Cæta*. Success, however, often changed sides. Omar Pasha, with a body of 4000 troops, marched from Thessaly, routed a detachment of Greeks at Thermopylæ and Seripa, destroyed Livadia, the most flourishing town in Roumelia, and relieved the blockade of the citadel of Athens. On the other hand, the insurgents collected in the hilly districts of Bœotia and Phocis, interrupted the communications of the Turks and cut off their supplies, and defeated at Thermopylæ a strong reinforcement coming from Thessaly, with the loss of 800 men. In the extreme north, the insurgents were everywhere unfortunate. The Macedonian Greeks were defeated by Pasha Aboulaboud, and, with the exception of a portion who escaped by sea, were either killed or made prisoners. The monks of

Athos capitulated to the same Ottoman general. The people of Magnesia were surprised and routed by the Pasha of Drama, and thirty-five of the most flourishing villages of the district were burned. The Greeks of Pieria also rose in arms, but were completely defeated by Pasha Aboulaboud, who burned all the villages which they possessed in the valleys of Olympus.

The war between the Turks and the Greeks was characterized from the outset by the most shocking outrages. Infuriated at the progress of the insurrection, the Porte caused the venerable Greek patriarch of Constantinople, a very old man much esteemed for his virtues, to be seized on Easter Sunday as he was about to celebrate high mass in the Patriarchal chapel, and hanged at the gate of his palace. All the prelates who happened to be present in the church at the celebration of the festival were arrested at the same time, and many of them shared the same fate—entirely, as it was admitted, on suspicion. The chiefs of the most distinguished Fanariot families were seized by order of the Government, and beheaded or hanged before the doors of their own houses. The Greek churches were demolished and their houses given up to pillage. Salonica and Adrianople were the scene of similar barbarities; Smyrna was treated with even greater severity, and was sacked and burned like a city that had been stormed by a hostile army. Kydonia, a town of 30,000 inhabitants, and renowned for its college where 300 students were receiving a superior education, was burned to the ground, and its inhabitants were forced to seek refuge in Psyra and other isles.

The Greeks were not slow to retaliate these cruelties on their oppressors. The garrison of Navarin capitulated on the promise that they would be allowed to retreat without molestation, but the agreement was shamefully violated, and the Turkish soldiers were massacred. The town of Tripolitza was taken by storm and completely sacked, and out of 10,000 or

12,000 inhabitants young and old, 8000 are said to have been put to death. At Samos all the Turks in the place, including the Cadi and the Janizzaries, were massacred; and this system of merciless reprisals continued to disgrace the conduct of both parties throughout the war.

The insurrection had already reached the isles; a provisional government had been constituted at Hydra, and a navy formed, which proved of immense service in the struggle for national independence. Extraordinary sacrifices had been made by some of the most distinguished inhabitants. The commercial house of Konturecty alone is said to have equipped at its own expense a fleet of thirty vessels, well armed and equipped.

The maritime superiority of the Greeks contributed greatly to promote the progress of the insurrection in the islands. Their ships were indeed merely merchant vessels carrying from twelve to twenty-four guns; but by their superior seamanship and a bold and skilful use of fireships, they baffled or defeated the Turkish squadrons of men-of-war. An attempt which was made at this time by the Porte to clear the Archipelago of the Greek vessels, ended in a signal disaster. On the 19th of May, a squadron, composed of two ships of the line, three frigates, and five brigs, sailed from the Dardanelles in search of the enemy. Two Greek flotillas, with which they fell in, did not venture to encounter such a superior force, but contented themselves with holding cautiously aloof, watching for an opportunity to assail the Turks at an advantage. They had not long to wait. The Turkish rear-admiral, who commanded the squadron, expected to have been immediately followed by the fleet of the Capitan Pacha. Becoming uneasy at its failure to appear, he despatched a vessel of seventy-four guns to ascertain the cause of the delay. The vessel was attacked by the Greek flotilla, as soon as it was out of reach of assistance from the admiral. The Turkish captain, in great alarm, fled into the Adramyttic Gulf, where

his vessel ran aground and lay helplessly exposed to the attacks of his pursuers. The Greeks took up a position which raked the ship from stem to stern. The crew attempted to escape in their boats, but the greater part were sunk before they could reach the shore; and the captain, in his despair, set fire to his ship, and himself perished in the flames. The Turkish admiral, who was at anchor near Mitylene, on receiving notice of this disaster made the best of his way at once back to the Dardanelles, leaving the Greek flotilla undisputed masters of the Archipelago.

The Greeks at Samos, as we have seen, had thrown off the Ottoman yoke, had expelled or slain their despotical rulers, and were now harassing the Turks of the adjoining continent by frequent descents upon the coast. A large body of troops was collected to punish and suppress them, and the Capitan Bey was ordered to co-operate with his fleet. But an attempt to land 1000 men on the island was defeated with great loss, and a second armament was intercepted, and ten transports burned by the Greek fleet. The soldiers escaped to the shore, but were so terrified by the disaster that they refused to re-embark.

At this critical juncture the sultan, distracted by the difficulties on every side in this convulsed state of his empire, was threatened with a new and much more formidable danger, arising out of a dispute with the Russian Czar. Orders which had been issued by the Porte to stop the exportation of grain from the Dardanelles threatened to annihilate the grain trade at Odessa. Vessels sailing under the Russian flag had been searched and sometimes detained by the Turkish custom-house officers, on the plea that such vessels had conveyed supplies to the insurgents. Turkish troops had been sent into the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. Gross outrages had been committed against the Greek clergy and people, and the Greek patriarch had been put to death, in violation of the treaty of Kainardji. The lives and

property of Russian merchants had been placed in jeopardy, and no proper steps taken for their protection. The Russian ambassador, Baron Strogonoff, was instructed by special orders from St. Petersburg to present a formal remonstrance against these proceedings, and to demand that the churches which had been destroyed or plundered should be restored; that Christian worship should be guaranteed against future outrage; that a just distinction should be made between those who were guilty of aiding and abetting disorders, and those who were innocent; that in reliance on this protection the Greeks should be invited to submit within a given time, and that Russia, in accordance with the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest, should be allowed to take part in the pacification of Moldavia and Wallachia. 'If the Turkish Government,' continued the ambassador, 'contrary to expectation, should manifest that it is in consequence of a plan voluntarily adopted that these measures were taken, nothing will then remain to the emperor but to declare to the Sublime Porte that it places itself in a state of open hostility with the whole Christian world; that it legalizes the resistance of the Greeks, who would then combat solely to save themselves from inevitable destruction; and that, considering the nature of this contest, Russia will regard itself as strictly bound to afford them an asylum, because they are persecuted; protection, because she has a right to do so; an assistance in union with all Christendom, because she cannot leave her fellow believers a prey to blind fanaticism.' It was demanded that a reply should be given to this communication within eight days. Shortly before this period some shocking outrages had been perpetrated by the populace against the Greeks in Constantinople. Their houses were almost universally given up to be pillaged, and they only escaped a general massacre by concealing themselves from their bloodthirsty assailants. As it was, great numbers of them were put to death,

and their wives and children were carried off as slaves. The impunity which was allowed to the perpetrators of these crimes called forth vehement remonstrances from the British and Austrian ministers, and contributed not a little to strengthen the case of the Russian Government against the Porte.

The pride of the Ottoman court was deeply wounded both by the manner and the matter of the demand made by the Russian ambassador, and at first they refused to give any answer to it whatever. Baron Strogonoff, in obedience to his instructions, immediately demanded his passports and left for Odessa. At the moment of his departure a reply was sent to his note, which, however, he declined to receive, and the Porte was obliged to send it on direct to St. Petersburg. Though it had been considerably modified on the recommendation of Lord Strangford and M. de Lutzen, the British and Austrian ministers, it was by no means satisfactory, and evaded rather than answered the demands of the Czar. The embargo, however, which had been laid upon Russian vessels was raised, and a manifesto was published, in the name of the sultan, to the officials throughout Anatolia and Roumelia, enjoining them to cease from employing violence against peaceable and defenceless vessels, and offering a general amnesty to such of the Greeks as were disposed to return to their obedience.

The unsatisfactory nature of the answer returned to the Russian note of the 18th July seemed to render war inevitable, and this step was strongly advocated by Count Capo d'Istria, as one of the Czar's most trusted counsellors. But Alexander saw clearly, that however favourable was the opportunity now offered for the accomplishment of his long-cherished designs against the Turkish empire, he could not avail himself of it but at the risk of dissolving his alliance with the other continental powers of Europe. A war professedly undertaken by him for the liberation of Greece would, without doubt, have greatly

encouraged the revolutionary party in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and would have been a flagrant violation of the principle enunciated in the Troppau circular of the allied sovereigns, that 'useful or necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of states, ought only to emanate from the free will' of their rulers. The scruples of the Czar were zealously fostered and strengthened by Lord Castlereagh and Prince Metternich, who had reasons of their own for preventing the Czar from supporting the Greeks. The English Foreign minister had no sympathy with reformers, however moderate in their proposals, and disapproved of every attempt to overthrow an existing government, no matter how despotic and oppressive it might be. In a letter written to the Czar two days before Count Strogonoff presented his ultimatum to the Porte, he said the events in Turkey 'form a branch of that organized spirit of insurrection which is systematically propagating itself throughout Europe, and which explodes whenever the hand of the governing power, from whatever cause, is enfeebled.' And to the British minister at St. Petersburg he wrote, what he, no doubt, wished to be communicated to the Czar, 'With all deference, the Emperor of Russia ought to disavow the Greek cause as one essentially revolutionary.'

The representations made by the British and Austrian ministers had considerable weight with Alexander. The party at the Russian court, headed by Nesselrode, who were in favour of peace, prevailed; and a circular was issued by the emperor to his ministers at foreign courts, stating, that though he had never felt himself in so favourable a position as at present for enforcing by war the acceptance of the conditions he had proposed to the Porte, he was yet disposed to make the greatest sacrifices for the preservation of peace. He was therefore willing to abstain from hostilities, provided the other Powers of Europe found means for obtaining from the Divan such guarantees as were necessary to protect the Christians in Turkey

from a repetition of the outrages to which they had hitherto been subjected.

The mediation of the other courts thus invoked was exercised with beneficial effect. The Porte consented to appoint two Christian hospodars to the government of Wallachia and Moldavia, and thus removed one cause of difference between the Ottoman and the Russian courts. A promise was also given that the churches which had been destroyed or plundered would be restored, as soon as the rebellion should be suppressed. Negotiations commenced on this basis were slowly carried on between the two governments, and served in the meantime to avert hostilities, and to afford the Porte an opportunity of recruiting its exhausted strength.

In Greece, however, and in the Greek islands, the insurgents treated the offered amnesty with contempt, and bade defiance to all the efforts of the Ottoman Government to crush them. Their ascendancy at sea enabled them to cut off the supplies of corn from the Mediterranean to feed the inhabitants of Constantinople, and to declare every port in the Archipelago in the occupancy of the enemy in a state of blockade. In the month of June, Demetrius Ipsilanti, second brother of the Moldavian leader, landed at Hydra, and thence sailed over to the Continent, where he received a cordial welcome from the insurgents. He brought with him a small supply of money, and a commission from his brother to take the direction of military affairs in Greece and the Morea. He was a young man, only twenty-two years of age, patriotic, brave, and upright; but he did not possess either the energy or experience necessary for the arduous and responsible office which he had assumed, and the jealousy of the bishops and military chiefs thwarted his proposals and rendered all his schemes abortive.

In the islands as well as in the Morea the Greeks overpowered the Turks in the open field; but unprovided as they were with artillery, and unskilled in the art of besieging

ing fortified places, they were unable to reduce the strongholds in which their enemies had taken refuge. Some of the Turkish garrisons, however, in the Morea were compelled by famine to surrender; but the terms of the capitulation were shamefully violated by the insurgents. Prince Demetrius was so indignant at these disgraceful proceedings that he resigned his command, and issued a proclamation, intimating his intention of abandoning the country and never returning until he was intrusted with power to compel a due regard to his authority, and to punish outrages so dishonourable to the cause of liberty. This threat produced the proper effect. The senates of Hydra and Calamata agreed that the islands should be placed under the same government with the Morea, and that a congress should be formed of deputies from all the liberated districts in Greece. A national assembly accordingly was convoked at Argos about the end of 1821, but afterwards, for greater security, removed to Piada, near the ancient Epidaurus. Mavrocordato was appointed president, and a constitution was adopted which embodied equality of rights, the freedom of the press, and toleration in religion. The executive was to consist of a president and four members, with a secretary. Ministers were also appointed for finance, war, foreign affairs, and other departments. After passing a decree for a loan of 5,000,000 of piastres, the assembly closed its session on the 20th of January, 1822; but the government which it had erected had neither money nor troops to enforce its authority, and in consequence the military chiefs set its mandates at defiance, and disdained even to pay it outward respect.

On the 26th of January the citadel of Corinth, a fortress of great strength and importance, surrendered to the insurgents, who on this as on other occasions most dishonourably violated the terms of capitulation, and inhumanly put the garrison to death. The Greek Government made Corinth its seat for some time, both on account

of its central position and the strength of its acropolis, and thence promulgated its futile decrees. The only noteworthy document which it issued was the act of independence of the Greek nation—the manifesto in which the insurgents first put forth their claim to the rank of a free and independent people. It was remarkable chiefly for the anxiety which it showed to make clear the distinction between the motives by which the Greek patriots were actuated, and the revolutionary principles which were so obnoxious to the great powers of Europe. They had no other object, they declared, in taking up arms than to reinstate their nation in the rights of property, honour, liberty, and life. ‘We ask nothing,’ they said, ‘but our re-establishment in the European association, where our religion, our manners, and our position call us—to unite ourselves again with the great family of Christians, and to resume among the nations the rank which a usurping force has unjustly deprived us of.’

The death of Ali Pasha at this time left the Porte at liberty to direct its whole energies against the Greek insurgents. That old chief, driven to extremity, had been induced to surrender to Kourschid Pasha, by the promise not only of life, but also of a portion of his possessions, together with a safe-conduct for himself and his friends. But, as might have been expected, he was immediately put to death, and his head sent to Constantinople. The destruction of this formidable rebel gave renewed energy to the efforts of the Porte to suppress the Greek insurrection, and Kourschid Pasha, elated with his success, shortly after sent an army of 17,000 men against the Suliotes. But though they numbered only 4000 men, these brave patriots made such an obstinate resistance, amid their rocks and woods, that the Turks were finally compelled to retreat with a heavy loss. Mavrocordato marched to their assistance with 3000 men; but he was attacked at Petta, near Arta, by an army of 10,000 Turks; and, in consequence of the treachery of Gogos, one of the Arma-

toli chiefs, he was defeated with the loss of 400 men, and compelled to return to Missolonghi. The Suliotes, reduced to extremity by a protracted blockade, were compelled to surrender, on condition that the remnant of their tribe, consisting of 320 men and 900 women and children, should be conveyed to Cephalonia at the pasha's expense.

Relieved from this troublesome enemy, Osman Pasha now marched to attack Missolonghi at the head of 10,000 men. As the town was almost open, and the garrison consisted of only about 500 men, it might easily have been carried by an immediate and vigorous assault. But the pasha spent several weeks in a state of inaction, making attempts at negotiation, and Mavrocordato diligently availed himself of the interval to raise new works and to strengthen the old defences. A reinforcement of 1600 men arrived at this critical juncture from the Morea, and supplies of arms and ammunition were opportunely brought by the Greek fleet. The rainy season, too, which now set in, spread deadly sickness among the Turkish troops. In these circumstances the pasha made an attempt to retrieve his mistake by a sudden assault on the town before daylight on Christmas morning, when he expected that the inhabitants would be engaged in religious services. They had, however, received information of his design, and were prepared for the attack, which was repulsed with the loss of 600 men on the part of the besiegers. The pasha was fain to retreat with all possible speed, obstructed by rivers swollen with the heavy rains, and harassed at every step by the Acarnanians. The wreck of his army at last reached Prevesa in February, 1823.

The spring of this year was marked by an event which roused the indignation of the whole civilized world—the massacre by the Turks of the inhabitants of the island of Scio, with circumstances of the most horrible atrocity. This island, the ancient Chios, was distinguished for the commercial activity and wealth of its inhabitants. Its position, within ten miles of the Asiatic

shore, peculiarly exposed it to an attack on that side by the Porte, and probably for that reason the Sciotes had taken no part in the Greek insurrection. When the Hydriot fleet on one occasion touched at the island, they entreated the admiral to leave their coast and not compromise them with the Ottoman Government. Unfortunately they were at length involved in the insurrection by two adventurers, one of them a Sciote by birth, though he had spent his life abroad, who landed on the island in March, 1822, with about 2000 men, and drove the Turks out of the town. The invaders were coolly received by the citizens, who were an unwarlike people, and dreaded the vengeance of the Porte; but the peasantry rose in arms and assisted the adventurers in their endeavours to expel the Turks. The garrison, unable to resist an attack made by overwhelming numbers, shut themselves up in the citadel and waited for reinforcements. When the news of the insurrection reached Constantinople, the Turkish fleet under the Capitan Pasha was despatched to suppress and punish the rebellion. It reached Scio on the 11th of April, and disembarked a body of 15,000 men, who easily routed the Sciotes drawn up on the heights near the shore, and carried the town by assault on the 15th, putting to the sword the inhabitants without distinction of sex or age. The town itself was set on fire, and completely destroyed. The entire island was given over to fire and to the sword. The scenes that ensued were a disgrace to humanity. The male inhabitants and the elder females were massacred wholesale. The younger women and children were sent to Constantinople and sold into slavery. A small number only succeeded in making their escape to the Continent, with the loss of everything they had possessed. An English gentleman who visited the island shortly after the massacre, found only 1800 Greeks remaining, out of the 120,000 who peopled it before the invasion of the Turks. He estimated the number of the slain at 30,000—the remainder were either sold or exiled.



All the houses and villages throughout the island, along with eighty-six churches, were given a prey to the flames.

A powerful fleet had meanwhile sailed from Hydra, but arrived too late to save the unfortunate Sciotes from destruction, though not too late to take vengeance on their savage and ruthless murderers. On the night of the 18th of June, two fireships floated unperceived towards the Turkish fleet anchored before Scio. One of them grappled with the ship which carried the military chest, and set it on fire, but the crew contrived to get free from the fireship and to extinguish the flames. The other, attaching itself to the flagship of the Turkish admiral, exploded with such effect as to involve it in a common conflagration. The fire speedily reached the magazine, and the ship blew up, destroying in a moment 2000 of her crew. The Capitan Pasha was conveyed to shore in a boat before the explosion took place, but he died soon after, in consequence of the injury sustained from the fall of a mast. It is matter of regret that this disaster befel the sailors rather than the soldiers, who were more deeply implicated in the murder of the ill-fated Sciotes.

Hostilities continued to be carried on, both on the mainland and the islands, with varying success. Marco Bozzaris succeeded in relieving Suli, which was closely blockaded by Kourschid Pasha, and was on the point of surrendering. But an encounter of Bozzaris, at the village of Placca, with a Turkish force under Omar Brioni, the pasha of Janina (July 6), terminated, after an obstinate struggle, without any decisive advantage to either party. The Turks, however, on the 16th, renewed their attack upon the Greeks and Suliotes, who had taken up a new position near Petta, about two miles from Arta; and though they made a brave resistance, the insurgents were compelled to retreat, with the loss of the greater part of their cannon and baggage. Bozzaris took refuge in the mountain passes of Macrorona, where, though he was able, from the nature of the country, to repel any attempt to dis-

possess him, he was cut off from all communication with the sea. An expedition from Missolonghi was attacked at Fanari by a Turkish and Albanian force, and completely defeated. Suli was again invested, and was compelled to surrender on the 20th of September. On the other hand, the citadel of Athens, which had been blockaded for some months by the Greeks, had at length fallen into their hands, famine having compelled the garrison to capitulate on the 22nd of June. Though their personal safety was guaranteed, a considerable number of them were put to death in cold blood, and the rest were with difficulty saved by the interposition of the Frank consuls.

Kourschid Pasha had meanwhile been collecting a large force in Thessaly, with the view of carrying the war into the Morea. He had resolved to penetrate into Livadia by way of Thermopylæ; but the Greeks, though apprised of his intentions, with their usual negligence and want of forethought, made no preparations to resist his march. At Larissa he received a large reinforcement of troops, which had arrived from the northern provinces, and sent on an advanced guard of 20,000 men, chiefly cavalry, under Pasha Dramali. The well-known Greek chief, Odysseus, who had charge of the famous Pass of Thermopylæ, with 4000 men, might have greatly retarded, if he could not altogether prevent, the passage of the army; but, either from treachery or incapacity, he offered no resistance. The invading army burned Thebes on its march; and, moving rapidly past Cythæron and the Dervend of the isthmus unopposed, appeared before Corinth on the 18th of July. Its impregnable citadel, though victualled for three months, was surrendered to them, by the cowardice of the commander of the garrison, without firing a shot. From Corinth the Turks pushed on to Nauplia, the Greeks everywhere flying in the utmost consternation at their approach. The members of the Government, who had first left Corinth for Argos, and then had gone on to Nauplia, had scarcely time to hasten with their papers

on board one of the vessels engaged in its blockade before the Turkish commander had taken possession of the place, which had been on the eve of capitulating to the besiegers when it was so unexpectedly relieved. At this crisis Demetrius Ipsilanti threw himself, with a small body of undaunted patriots, into the ruined castle of Argos, with the hope of gaining time for the panic-stricken fugitives to rally. This judicious manœuvre was completely successful. The operations of the Turkish forces were arrested for a time, and an opportunity was thus given to Colocotroni to bring up a considerable force from the interior, and to take up a strong position between the mountains and the sea near Lerna, so as to cut off the communications of the Turks with the surrounding country, and particularly with the isthmus.

The Greeks had now recovered from the panic which had been caused by the sudden irruption of the Turkish army, and they wisely resolved to carry on hostilities in the manner best suited to their own forces, and to the nature of the country. Following the example of the Scottish people in their War of Independence, they drove their cattle into the mountains and defiles, burned the standing corn and laid waste the plain country, and kept the enemy in a state of perpetual alarm by their incessant desultory attacks. The stock of provisions which the Turks had brought with them was speedily exhausted; the insalubrity of the season, the want of a proper supply of provisions, and the imprudent use of unripe fruit, brought on an attack of fever, which cut off great numbers; and by the first week of August they were reduced to such straits that they were obliged to eat their horses. On the 8th the Turkish commander offered to enter into a capitulation to evacuate the Peninsula; but the proposal was rejected. In these critical circumstances no resource was left for him but to attempt to fight his way back to Thessaly. The Greeks, however, who had divined his purpose, and had stationed a strong body of

troops near the defile of Tretas, killed 2500 of his men, captured all his treasure and baggage, with a vast number of horses, mules, and camels. Many more of the Turks died at Corinth of fever, among whom was the commander, Pasha Dramali. A great number of the survivors were destroyed in an attempt to reach Patras by land; so that of the formidable army of 30,000 men who invaded Greece in June, only a small remnant was in existence at the end of August. Kourschid Pasha made three several attempts to force the passage of Thermopylæ, in order to bring them assistance, but without success, and he was finally compelled to fall back upon Larissa.

The Turkish fleet, under the new Capitan Pasha Kara Mahommed, made an attempt to capture the town of Missolonghi by means of gun-boats; but the attack failed. An expedition which Omar Brioni undertook by land was equally unsuccessful. The Capitan Pasha, after his failure at Missolonghi, endeavoured to throw some succours into Nauplia, but failed in the attempt; and after cruising a short time longer in the Archipelago, he returned to the north, and anchored in the road of Tenedos. While the Turkish fleet was lying here waiting further orders from the sultan, a small body of resolute Greek seamen, headed by a gallant youth named Carrares, the leader of the enterprise against the Turkish flag-ship at Scio, determined to renew the attempt which had been so signally successful on that occasion. Dressed in Turkish costume, with the Ottoman flag flying at the mast head, they boldly sailed two fire-ships into the midst of the enemy's fleet, and contrived, without being suspected or observed, to fasten, as before, one of their vessels to the flag-ship of the admiral, and the other to that of Capitan Bey. In the explosion which followed the latter was blown up with her whole crew, consisting of about 1500 men. But the admiral's ship was more fortunate on this occasion, for though it was set on fire, the crew succeeded in

extinguishing the flames. In the confusion and excitement which followed this disaster, two frigates cut their cables, ran ashore and were lost, and the rest of the fleet made all sail for the Dardanelles.

Towards the close of the year the Greeks at length succeeded in making themselves masters of the important town of Nauplia, which stands at the head of the Gulf of that name. The town, which occupies the summit of a flat-topped hill, is surrounded by Venetian fortifications, and is defended also by a battery, and by two forts. One of these, called Palamidi, standing on a rock, and flanked by powerful batteries, is considered one of the strongest places in Europe. On the night of the 12th of December, when the officers of the citadel were attending a

council of war held in the town, and the soldiers were off their guard, a select body of about a hundred men scaled the walls, and gained the ramparts before the sentinels were aware of their approach. They then opened the gate, and the rest of the army rushed in and put the garrison to the sword. As it was impossible for the Turks to hold the town after the citadel was taken, the Greek generals were willing to grant terms to the Turkish soldiers, in order to spare the town the horrors of an assault. But before these could be arranged the besiegers broke into the place and committed great outrages. About 900 soldiers, including the pasha, were made prisoners of war, and nearly 400 pieces of cannon, with large quantities of arms and ammunition, became the spoil of the captors.

## CHAPTER XIV.

France after the Downfall of Napoleon—State of Parties—Ministry of Decazes—Reorganization of the Ecclesiastical Colleges—Murder of the Duke de Berri—Change of Government—Death of Napoleon at St. Helena—His Life and Character—Restrictions on the policy of the Ultra-royalists—Ministry of de Villele—The Liberty of the Press—Ministry of the Duke de Richelieu—Insurrections at Saumur, Belfort, Toulon, and Nantes—Censorship of the Press—Menaces against Spain—Illumination and Riot at Lisbon—Austria and Russia withdraw their Embassies—Congress of the Allied Sovereigns at Verona—Disapproval of their proceedings by the British Representative and Government—Speech of Louis XVIII. against the Spanish Constitution—Insurrection throughout the Spanish Provinces—Revolt of the Guards at Madrid—Castel-follet sacked and burned by General Mina—Invasion of Spain by the French—Capture of Madrid—Appointment of a Regency by Duke d'Angoulême—Removal of the Spanish Government to Cadiz—Siege and capture of Cadiz by the French—Return of the French Army, and triumphal entry into Paris—Miserable condition of Spain—Political Trials in Naples, Sicily, Lombardy, and Modena—Pressure on Switzerland by the Holy Alliance.

WHILE Spain, Italy, and Greece were in a state of agitation, and were struggling for freedom and independence, events in France were steadily, though slowly, preparing the way for revolutions, much more important in themselves and momentous in their consequences than the changes which were taking place in the other countries of Europe. After the downfall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbons by foreign bayonets to the throne of France, the ultra-royalists obtained a complete ascendancy in the government of the country. Ney and Labeledoyere paid with their lives the penalty of having joined Napoleon in his efforts to regain the crown. The law of amnesty excluded the relatives of the emperor for ever from the kingdom, and made them incapable of enjoying civil rights or possessing property in France, and declared that such of the regicides as had voted for the *Acte additionnel*, passed on the 22nd of April, 1815, or had accepted office or employment under Bonaparte, were irreconcilable enemies of France and of legitimate government, and were in consequence excluded from the kingdom. It was noticed, as indicating the spirit now supreme in the Court and the Government, that at the marriage of the Duke de Berri, second son of the Count d'Artois, to the Princess Mary Caroline of Naples, not one single pardon was granted to the numerous body of political prisoners in the course of trial by the prévotal courts throughout the country. A royal ordonnance authorizing

the society 'des Prêtres des Missiens' gave deep offence to the French people, and was regarded as affording additional evidence of the character of the royal counsellors. An open contempt of impartial justice was exhibited by the military authorities and the government officials on the trials of Admiral Duran de Lincis, Generals Diouet, Cambroune, Lefebvre, and other adherents of the fallen emperor; their advocates were interrupted and insulted in the most scandalous manner, and the generals who escaped capital punishment were treated otherwise with great severity.

Louis XVIII. himself was generally believed to have been much annoyed by the conduct of the ultra-royalists, who pressed upon him the adoption of extreme measures in every department of the administration; and in his speech at the opening of the ordinary session of the Chambers in November, 1816, he said, 'Be attached to the charter. I will never permit any infraction of that fundamental law.' 'Count on my unalterable firmness in curbing the attempts of malevolence, and in repressing the efforts of a too ardent zeal'—words which were understood to convey a covert censure on the violent conduct of the majority of the deputies during the previous session, and to express the determination of the king not to be overborne by the fanatical ultra-royalists. The Duke of Richelieu, who was the head of the Government, endeavoured to play off the two extreme parties—the ultra-liberals and ultra-royalists—against each

other, and to employ each alternately, to check the violence of the other. The arbitrary laws against the liberty of the person and the press were mitigated, and a new law of election gave an increased share of influence to the middle and commercial classes. The army was reorganized, however, in a way which did not command public approval, and rendered it, as events showed, more an imperial than a royalist institution.

The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved on the 5th of September, 1816, ostensibly for the purpose of adhering to the provisions of the charter by reducing the deputies to the number which it had prescribed; but it was universally understood that the real motive was to obtain a body of representatives, whose opinions and feelings should be more in harmony with the great political interests which the events of the last thirty years had created in France. After the revision of the law of election in 1817, a fifth of the members were renewed, in accordance with the provisions of the charter, and the result was greatly to increase the numbers of the liberal party, and to diminish the strength of the ultra-royalists. During the course of this session the various parties into which the Chamber was divided became more distinctly apparent. There were the ultra-royalists of the right, the ministerialists of the centre, the *Doctrinaires*, or friends of constitutional liberty, who generally supported the Government, and the liberals of the Left, who almost always opposed the measures of the Ministry. The ministerialists were superior to the other parties, both in numbers and ability; and the evacuation of the French territory by the army of occupation, which took place at this time, added not a little to their popularity and influence. Their operations, however, were a good deal embarrassed by the differences of opinion which existed in the ranks of their supporters, and even among the members of the Government themselves. These differences were increased by the elections in 1818 for the renewal of another fifth of the

Chamber, which had the effect of still further weakening the Right and strengthening to the same extent the ranks of the Left. The Ministry became divided into two parties—one, headed by the Duke of Richelieu, the premier, who dreaded the increasing influence of the democratic party; the other, consisting of the Count Decazes, Baron Pasquier, and Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, cherished a sympathy with liberal principles and measures. A partial change in the Cabinet was in consequence expected; but the public were taken by surprise when it was announced on the 30th of December, 1818, that a new administration had been formed, of which General Dessoles was President of the Council, but the Count Decazes was the moving spirit. He was a personal favourite of Louis, and as minister of the interior was willing to carry out the views of the king, and was prepared to accept the support of the liberals, and not to reject that of the moderate royalists. As soon as he was installed in office, Decazes set himself to conciliate the liberal party, whose growing numbers and influence rendered their support peculiarly important. He resolved to modify the restrictions on the liberty of the press, and to introduce a law establishing ministerial responsibility. He also promised to bring forward a law on municipal liberties, the preparation of which was intrusted to M. Guizot, who had been appointed to a department in the Home Office. The patronage of the Government was now for the first time administered in favour of officials who belonged to the liberal party. The decrees against some of the surviving members of the National Convention were also modified, and Tallien and Cambacères were permitted to return to France.

The ultra-royalists were, of course, very indignant at the change of Ministry, and at the policy adopted by the new administration. They possessed a decided majority in the Chamber of Peers, which, indeed, since the expulsion of the Bonapartists

members in 1815, had been almost wholly in their hands. A resolution was proposed in that Chamber, and carried by a large majority in spite of the opposition of ministers, in favour of a reorganization of the electoral colleges, on the ground that the evident tendency of the new system was to throw all political power in France into the hands of the revolutionary party. In the Chamber of Deputies, however, the folly of considering as too democratic a law which conferred the elective franchise only upon 100,000 persons out of 29,000,000 was pointed out, and the proposal was rejected by a majority of 150 to 90 votes. A proposal which had been adopted by the Lower House to change the beginning of the financial year from the 1st of January to the 1st of July was thrown out by the Peers by a majority of 93 to 54. These decided manifestations of hostility to the Government on the part of the Upper Chamber induced the king to give his consent to the creation of sixty new peers, among whom were included six of Bonaparte's marshals. This decisive measure gave the Ministry a majority in both Chambers, and enabled them to carry out the liberal policy which they had adopted. Almost all those who had supported Napoleon during the Hundred Days, now received permission to return to France; and among them the chief conspirator, Maret, Duke of Bassano, who had long acted as Bonaparte's secretary and minister. The promised modifications of the laws relating to the press were now brought forward and carried. The journals were freed from the censorship, and were no longer required to obtain a royal permission. The proprietors, however, were bound to give security to the amount of 10,000 francs. All offences connected with the press were to be tried by the courts of assize; in other words, by a jury instead of, as heretofore, by the tribunals of police.

In the autumn of 1819 the re-election of one-fifth of the members of the Chamber of Commerce took place. The royalists, much

to their discredit, recommended their supporters to return Jacobins rather than Ministerialists. The advice was so faithfully followed that, in the department of the Isère, they elected the Abbe Gregoire, formerly bishop of Blois, who had been a member of the National Convention, and voted for its most violent measures. Their object in choosing him as their candidate was to annoy the king, and to show the result of the existing law of elections. Their crooked and dishonourable policy produced the desired effect. On the news of the Abbe's return, the Count d'Artois solicited an interview with his brother, to whom he had not spoken for some time. 'Sire,' he said, 'behold whither they are leading you.' 'I see,' replied the king, 'and will provide against the danger.'

The results of the elections were indeed fitted to create uneasiness in the minds of the king and his ministers. No fewer than thirty-five extreme liberals were returned, among whom was General Foy, fifteen ministerialists, and only one royalist. These circumstances, and especially the election of the Abbe Gregoire, produced such an effect on the mind of the king, that he turned a favourable ear to the advice of his brother, that the electoral law should be altered. That very evening the Count Decazes was summoned to the royal closet, and directed to prepare a modification of the law of elections. Decazes at once expressed his willingness to obey the instructions of His Majesty; but five of his colleagues refused to concur in his views, and were in favour of maintaining the existing system, in order to secure the support of the liberal party. A change of ministry was the consequence of these dissensions in the cabinet. Decazes was made President of the Council, as well as Minister of the Interior. Baron Pasquier was appointed Minister of Foreign affairs, the Marquis of Latour Maubourg, of War, and General Foy, Minister of Finance. The new ministry, and especially the premier, were violently assailed

by the press; but they were cordially supported by the *Doctrinaires*, two of whom were rewarded with office, as well as by the king. At the opening of the Chamber on the 29th of November His Majesty said, 'The moment is come when it is necessary to fortify the Chamber of Deputies, and to withdraw it from the annual action of party by securing it a longer continuance. To the devotion and energy of the two chambers I look for the means of saving the public liberties from licence, confirming the monarchy, and giving to all the interests guaranteed by the charter the entire security which we owe it.'

The new electoral law proposed by the Government was to the effect, that the Chamber should be re-elected every five or seven years, instead of a fifth every year; that the number of members should be increased from 260 to 430; that the electoral colleges should be formed into smaller divisions; and the right to vote should be restricted to persons paying direct taxes to the amount of 1000 francs annually, instead of 300. These changes, as might have been foreseen, excited great dissatisfaction among the mass of the people. A vague uneasiness took possession of the public mind, secret societies abounded, and associations were openly formed to defend liberty of opinion, which was believed to be in danger.

At this moment, when the people were in a state of uneasiness and anxiety, Paris was startled by the announcement that the Duke de Berri had been murdered by a journeyman saddler of the name of Louvel. On the 13th of February the duke and duchess were at the opera, and about eleven o'clock the duke conducted the duchess to her carriage, and was standing beside it when Louvel, pushing aside the aide-de-camp who was in attendance, stabbed the duke to the heart with a dagger and instantly fled, leaving the weapon in the wound. The duke was carried bleeding to the little room behind the box, where he expired in the course of a few minutes. Before he

breathed his last the king arrived. 'My uncle,' said the dying man, 'give me your hand that I may kiss it for the last time.' He then earnestly added, 'I entreat the life of that man. I beseech that I may die in peace, and that my dying moments may be softened.'

The death of the prince excited extreme regret among all parties. The ultra-royalists, who expected that he would carry out the policy of his father, were thrown into great consternation, and in their unreasoning excitement they endeavoured to fix the infamy of the crime on the prime minister, Decazes. The king seems to have anticipated this discreditable movement, and said to his favourite minister, 'Party will seek to turn this event to its purposes. The ultras, who hate me as much as you, will accuse me of blindness and indifference if I support you; but I will resist, and you shall not quit office. I insist, my child, upon your remaining; they shall not separate you from me.' Addresses of condolence to the king were voted by both Houses, and the Chamber of Peers was by royal ordinance appointed a supreme court to try the assassin. The trial was delayed for a considerable time in the hope of discovering Louvel's accomplices, but no trace could be found of his having taken any one into his confidence. Louvel himself continued solemnly to deny that he had ever communicated his intention to any human being. The deed, he said, had been in contemplation for four years; he had no personal quarrel with the Duke de Berri, or any special dislike to him; but he had selected him from the rest of the royal family, only because he alone seemed destined to continue it. He was, of course, found guilty, and was executed on the 7th of June.

The debate which took place in the Chamber of Deputies on the address of condolence to the king showed at once the feeling of the ultra-royalists regarding the murder of the heir to the throne, and the purposes to which they were deter-

mined to turn this lamentable event. One of them accused M. Decazes as an accomplice of the assassin, and insisted that he should be impeached. Another proposed an address to the king, praying His Majesty to put down revolutionary doctrines. It was justly remarked by General Foy in the course of the discussion, 'that to no party can this event be so deplorable as to the friends of freedom; for the antagonists of freedom will turn this conjuncture to their advantage in seeking to deprive the country, of those liberties which the king had granted. The truth of this statement was very soon made manifest. The king, under the influence of the alarm caused by the assassination of his nephew, gave his consent to the introduction of stringent laws against the liberty of the press, and to the modifying the electoral law. It was also proposed that the ministers should be intrusted with extraordinary powers to suppress disturbances, and punish conspiracies against the sovereign and the government.

The fact that M. Decazes had given his assent to these proposals did not in the least abate the strong dislike cherished towards him by the ultra-royalists. He was fiercely attacked by Châteaubriand, who said his feet slipped in blood. The Count d'Artois and the Duchess d'Angoulême united in demanding his dismissal. While attacked thus fiercely by the royalist faction, he had entirely forfeited the support of the liberal party by his approval of the proposed restrictions on the liberty of the press, and the modification of the electoral law. He saw that in these circumstances there was no alternative but to tender his resignation, which the king felt constrained to accept. 'It is not against you,' he said, 'but against me that the stroke is directed. The Pavilion Marsan are trying to overturn me. I will not have M. de Talleyrand, the Duke de Richelieu shall replace you. I will show the world that you have not lost my confidence.' Louis certainly kept his word in showing favour to the fallen minister. He was created a duke, made minister of state

and member of the privy council, was loaded with presents by the monarch, and was shortly after appointed ambassador to London, with a salary of 12,000 francs a year.

The Duke de Richelieu was exceedingly unwilling to resume his former place at the head of the Government, and refused to do so unless the Count d'Artois should promise him his support, which that prince was quite ready to do, as he confidently expected to obtain through the influence of the duke the repeal of the electoral law. In return for the support of the ultra-royalists, Richelieu had to confer the under secretariats of the home ministry, and of the ministry of justice on two members of that party, one of whom had been the adviser and private secretary of the Count d'Artois, thus virtually making over the patronage of the department and the management of the elections to that prince.

No sooner was the new premier installed in office than he proceeded to carry out the schemes for the sake of which he had been placed in power. It was proposed that every person charged with a political offence might be arrested on an order signed by three ministers, without being brought before any tribunal. The project was keenly opposed by the liberals, who, however, failed to carry any of their proposed amendments except one, prohibiting nocturnal arrests. The law respecting the liberty of the press was the occasion of debates equally protracted and animated, but with the same result. It had no sooner passed than a commission of censorship was appointed, consisting of twelve members, who were intrusted with the most ample powers to exercise a rigid supervision over all journals and other periodical publications, and provisionally to suspend any journal with the approbation of the minister of justice. Equally unpopular was the new law for the reorganization of the electoral colleges. The original proposal of M. Decazes did not give satisfaction to either party. The liberals of the Left resisted it because they were opposed to all innovations on the existing



law, while the Right objected to the measure because it still left what they regarded as too large an admixture of the democratic element in the constitution of the electoral body. The proposal was in consequence withdrawn, and a new project was submitted on the 17th of April, leaving unaltered the number of members and the periodical renewal of the Chamber, but creating two kinds of electoral colleges in each department—the one to select the candidates, the other to choose out of them the deputies who were to be sent to the Chamber. The project met with the strongest opposition, chiefly on the ground that it would throw the entire representation into the hands of an aristocratical oligarchy, composed almost wholly of the old nobility, to the exclusion of the commercial and industrious classes of the community. An amendment was proposed, which was carried against the Government by a majority of one. A second amendment was then brought forward and supported by the *Doctrinaires* as well as by ministerialists and the royalists, to the effect that the system of direct representation should be maintained both in the upper and lower colleges; that the Chamber should consist of 258 members chosen by the *arrondissement*, in which every person paying 300 francs of direct taxation should have a right to vote, and 172 elected by the departments—the latter being chosen not by the whole electors, but by a fourth of their number composed of those who paid 1000 francs, and upwards, of taxes; who, however, had also a right to vote in the *arrondissements*. This amendment was carried by a majority of five, and the bill thus altered became law.

During these discussions on the new electoral law there was great excitement among the public, especially in Paris. Crowds collected in the streets; seditious cries were heard; and the law and medical students of the university accompanied the liberal deputies to their homes amidst loud shouts of 'Long live the Chamber!' The Government irritated at these manifestations

of public feeling called out the military to disperse the mob, and in the tumult a law student of the name of Lallemand unfortunately lost his life.

A much more serious affair was the conspiracies which now arose against the Ministry and the Court, with the view of seducing the soldiers from their allegiance, seizing the fortress of Vincennes, exciting the students of law and medicine to avenge the death of Lallemand, and rousing the faubourgs to insurrection. A considerable number of the old Napoleonist officers were mixed up with these plots, which were fortunately discovered before they could be carried into effect. But as not a few of the most influential liberals—among others, Lafayette and Manuel—were cognizant of these proceedings, if not directly implicated in them, the ministers were afraid to call the leaders to account, and contented themselves with taking action against the subordinate agents.

The birth of a posthumous son of the Duke de Berri contributed not a little to strengthen the Government and to encourage the royalists. The elections, too, which now took place ran decidedly in their favour, and for the first time since the Restoration they obtained a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. They lost no time in turning their predominance in the legislature to account. M. de Villèle was admitted into the Cabinet without office. De Corbière, another of their most strenuous partisans, was appointed Minister of Public Instruction, and M. de Chateaubriand was nominated ambassador to Berlin. They even ventured to introduce a law for additional ecclesiastical endowments, and proposed to establish twelve new bishoprics and to increase the salaries of the clergy. In spite of the violent opposition of the liberal party, the scheme was carried by a majority of more than two to one, with a considerable increase in the number of Sees to be created by the Government. Though success had thus far crowned their efforts, the ultra-royalists felt that their ascendancy

was not secure so long as M. Decazes enjoyed the confidence of the king. This distinguished statesman was the son of a notary at Libourne, in the south of France. He studied for the law, and rose steadily in that profession until in 1810, when he was only thirty years of age, he was appointed *puisse* judge in the Court of Appeal. At the return of Napoleon from Elba, he remained faithful to the king, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, and during the Hundred Days lived in privacy at Libourne. When the Bourbon dynasty was restored, the loyalty of Decazes met with its reward. He was made prefect of police under Fouché, and member of the Council of State. On the removal of Fouché he succeeded to the ministry of the police; and having daily access to the king, he became a great favourite of Louis, who raised him to the peerage, and on his marriage made him a present of diamonds valued at 200,000 francs. He was possessed of great tact and suavity of manner, and obtained a complete ascendancy over the king, partly by adroitly studying his disposition and designs, and making himself the exponent and executor of the royal wishes and plans. Louis placed unbounded confidence in him; and even after his dismissal from office and mission to London, he corresponded with him almost daily.

It was by no means easy to weaken the influence of Decazes over the king, but the royalists concerted a dexterous plot for that purpose, which proved completely successful. Louis, though advanced in life, and especially addicted to the pleasures of the table, was not insensible to female beauty, and was very fond of the society of refined and clever young women. The royalists, who were well aware of His Majesty's inclinations, sought out a lady who would consent to be their instrument in gaining him over to their views and designs, and found one in a certain Madame du Cayla, a person exactly suited to their purpose. She was young and beautiful,

and possessed a winning address, great powers of conversation, and remarkable tact. The Jesuits persuaded her that she would render an important service to religion, to the royal family, and to the country if she would induce the sovereign to renounce all his liberal ideas and adopt the sentiments and policy of his brother. By means of the Viscount de la Rochefoucauld, the lady was introduced to the king, under the pretext of soliciting his protection to her family affairs. The scheme was entirely successful. Louis was captivated by the charms of Madame du Cayla at the first interview, and invited her to return. She speedily obtained a complete ascendancy over him, and induced him to support whatever measures her patrons and spiritual advisers thought proper to suggest.

Although the ultra-royalists, with the Count d'Artois at their head, succeeded in compelling the ministers to carry their measures for restricting the liberty of the press and the electoral vote, they were by no means satisfied with their position. They wished to obtain a majority in the Cabinet as well as in the Chambers, and complained that Polignac, the favourite of the Count d'Artois, and Peyrounet, the spokesman of their party, had not received portfolios as ministers. Their dissatisfaction took a practical form in the resignation of Villèle and Corbière, and in the retirement of Châteaubriand from the embassy at Berlin.

The Ministry were willing to make some concessions to modify the opposition of the royalists, and to admit some of the leaders of the party into the Cabinet; but they refused to yield to demands which they regarded as exorbitant. Negotiations were in consequence broken off, and when the Chambers met again on the 5th of November, the ministers were defeated upon the address in answer to the king's speech, and were obliged to resign. They had endeavoured to steer a middle course between the royalists and the liberals, and had in consequence offended and lost the support

of both parties. The immediate cause of their overthrow was undoubtedly the change introduced into the electoral law, which had placed the election of a large number of the deputies entirely in the hands of the seigneurs, the landed proprietors, and the priests and Jesuits. A new Ministry was formed, taken entirely from the extreme right of the Chamber. M. de Villèle was appointed President of the Council and Minister of Finance, and the other members of the Cabinet were M. de Peyronnet, M. de Montmorency, M. de Corbière, Marshal Victor, and M. Clermont Tonnerre. Châteaubriand was nominated ambassador at the British Court. There is every reason to believe that the king would not have permitted such a ministry to be forced upon him if he had been in possession of his ordinary health and strength; but the feebleness of his body had somewhat affected his mental vigour and resolution. He seems indeed to have considered his reign as virtually at an end. 'Now that M. Villèle triumphs,' he exclaimed, 'I regard myself as annihilated. Hitherto I have preserved the Crown and defended the Chamber; if my brother imperils both, it is his affair.'

The royalists lost no time in securing the fruits of their victory. They obtained the chief offices in every department of the state. Embassies, prefectures, places in the council of state and in the ministry of public instruction, all fell to the lot of the triumphant party who exerted all their influence without scruple or restraint to crush the liberals and *doctrinaires*, and to restrict the liberties of the people.

At this juncture tidings were received of the death of the deposed Emperor of the French, in the fifty-third year of his age, which took place at St. Helena, on the evening of the 5th of May, 1821. Four years before his death he had complained of pain in the region of the stomach; but his physicians seem to have completely misunderstood the nature of

his ailment, and fancied that his liver was disordered. At the beginning of 1821 the symptoms of his illness became alarming, and he could scarcely retain food of any kind. Early in April, he found that his end was approaching, and became aware that he was labouring under cancer of the stomach, the disease of which his father died. It would appear, therefore, that Napoleon had a hereditary and constitutional liability to this disease; but there can be no doubt that, though it was incurable, its progress was accelerated by the circumstances in which he was placed during the last six years of his life, chained to his island prison, fretting over his downfall, and worrying himself with petty squabbles with his jailer. As his end approached, he professed himself a Christian, and on the 3rd of May confessed, and received the viaticum for the second time. On the following day he bade farewell to the generals who attended him in his captivity, and exclaimed, 'I am at peace with mankind.' His last words, during the wandering of his mind preceding dissolution, were '*Tête d'armée*,' as if he fancied himself on a field of battle. He passed away in the midst of a violent hurricane, which swept over the island, shaking many of its houses to their foundations, and tearing up some of its largest trees by the roots. On the 9th of May, Napoleon was buried in a spot which he had himself selected—a small garden in the middle of a deep ravine, where he frequently walked under the shade of two willow trees, near a fountain, from which water had been daily brought for his special use. This, however, was not to be the last resting-place of the man who 'left a name at which the world grew pale.' In 1840, when Thiers was prime minister of France, the remains of Napoleon were exhumed and transported to Paris; and on the 15th of December of that year were deposited in a chapel of the Invalides. Finally, in April, 1861, when his nephew, Napoleon III., occupied the imperial throne, they

were transferred with great pomp and ceremony to a magnificent tomb in the church of the Invalides.

It is a striking and significant fact that the tidings of Napoleon's decease produced less sensation in France than in England, and that an event which, if it had occurred ten years before, would have deeply affected all Europe, and might have changed the history of the world, was regarded almost with indifference, and appeared to be forgotten in a week. It is a curious coincidence, that one day, when at the zenith of his power, he asked those about him what would be said about him after his death. They all hastened to answer him in phrases of compliment or of flattery. But he interrupted them by exclaiming, 'What! You are at a loss to know what the people will say? *They will say, OUF!*'

The publication of the 'Correspondence de Napoleon I.' at the expense and under the superintendence of a commission nominated by Napoleon III., the 'Confidential Correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte with his brother Joseph,' the 'History of Napoleon,' by Lanfrey, and especially the 'Memoirs of Madame de Remusat,' have cast a flood of light on the character of Napoleon, and have completely dispelled the halo which his marvellous achievements in war had cast around it. His own letters are sufficient of themselves to exhibit in unmistakable characters the strange blending in his nature of gigantic abilities and meanness, of stupendous power and heartless selfishness. Success was his ruling motive, and to that everything had to yield. He was ready to sacrifice everything, no matter how precious, whether truth, honour, or human life, whenever it stood in his way. 'I thrust aside whatever pains me,' was the remark he made to his court respecting the murder of the Duc d'Enghien. He caused his prisoners to be massacred by thousands at Jaffa when they proved an incumbrance, and ordered his own soldiers to be poisoned when they were smitten by the plague. Scruples of con-

science, sentiment, and affection were unknown to him. He justified his foulest deeds by saying, 'They charge me with the commission of great crimes; men of my stamp do not commit crimes.' '*I am not a man like any other, and the laws of morality or decorum could not have been made for me,*' was the brutal boast with which he silenced his wife's feeble remonstrances at his conjugal infidelities. 'It is your place,' he added, 'to submit to all my fancies, and you ought to think it quite natural that I should allow myself such "distractions." I have a right to answer all your complaints by an ETERNAL I. *I am apart from all the world. I accept conditions from no one.*' 'Understand,' he said to Talleyrand, 'that I should not fail to commit an act of cowardice if it were useful to me. In reality, there is nothing really noble or base in the world; I have in my character all that can contribute to secure my power, and to deceive those who think they know me. Frankly, I am base, essentially base. I give you my word, that I should feel no repugnance to commit what would be called by the world a dishonourable action.' This frank confession, which was dictated by his contempt for mankind, was no empty boast, but the expression of his own sincere conviction, and was true to the letter. From his earliest years he had a habitual disregard of truth. It was prophesied by one of his uncles that the little Napoleon would govern the world because he always lied. He despised and distrusted all sincerity in others, and scrupled not to say that he recognized a man's superiority by the greater or lesser skill shown in his manner of lying. 'M. de Metternich,' he said, 'is almost a statesman; he lies very well.'

His deliberate mode of treating his servants was to make them wholly his own by compromising and degrading them, and to keep them in constant uneasiness, that they might never feel for a moment out of his power. The horror of the great crime of his life (the murder of the Duc d'Enghien) is mingled with disgust, at the unspeakable

meanness with which he used Caulaincourt as the blind instrument of entrapping the poor young duke; and when he learned how this vicarious treachery was aggravated by the fact, that Caulaincourt had been in the household of Condé, the duke's father, he only said, 'I didn't know that; and besides, What does it matter? If Caulaincourt is compromised there is no great harm; *he will serve me the better.*' His own definition of what he called devotedness, was 'an entire surrender of one's being, of all one's sentiments, and of all one's opinions, in order to have only one thought, that of his interest and will.'

'No man, it must be allowed,' says Madame Rémusat, 'was ever less lofty of soul. There was no generosity, no true greatness in him. I never knew him admire, I never saw him understand, a noble deed. He always distrusted appearances of good feeling. . . . Bonaparte's methods of government were all selected from among those which have a tendency to debase men. He dreaded the ties of affection; he endeavoured to isolate every one; he never sold a favour without awakening a sense of uneasiness, for he held that the truest way to attach the recipient to himself was by compromising him, and often even blasting him in public opinion. He could not pardon virtue until he had succeeded in weakening its effect by ridicule.'

Even the passion for '*glory*,' which is the most commonplace association with Napoleon's name, appears now stripped of all magnanimity. His ambition for unsubstantial *glory* yielded to his appetite for its solid counterpart, *success*. 'He cannot be said to have truly loved glory, for he never hesitated to prefer success; thus although he was audacious in good fortune, and pushed it to its utmost limits, he was timid and troubled when threatened with reverses. . . . "I shall succeed," was the basis of all his calculations, and his obstinate repetition of the phrase helped him to realize the prediction. At length his own good fortune grew into a superstition with him, and his wor-

ship of it made any sacrifice which was to be imposed upon his servants fair and lawful in his eyes.'

With regard to Napoleon's utter want of heart, Madame de Rémusat says, 'If it were possible to believe that a being in every other way similar to ourselves could exist without that portion of an organization which makes us desire to love and to be loved, I should say that in Bonaparte's case the heart was left out. Perhaps, however, the truth was that he succeeded in suppressing it completely. He was always too much engrossed by himself to be influenced by any sentiment of affection, no matter of what kind. He almost ignored the ties of blood and the rights of nature.'

It is believed by those who knew him intimately, that Bonaparte really had some affection for his first wife, and that if he was ever stirred by any emotion it was by her and for her. For the rest he 'was never awakened to love except by vanity.' 'Love is not made for me,' he once said to Madame de Rémusat, and this remark, as well as his own description of his feelings, shows how correctly this sharp-sighted lady had divined his real character. 'There are two levers for moving men,' he said, 'interest and fear. Love is a silly infatuation, depend upon it. Friendship is but a name. I love nobody. I do not love even my brothers; perhaps Joseph a little from habit, and because he is my elder; and Duroc I love him too; but why? because his character pleases me; he is stern and resolute, and I believe the fellow never shed a tear. For my part, I know very well that I have no true friends. As long as I contrive to be what I am, I may have as many pretended friends as I please. Leave sensibility to women; but men should be firm in heart and in purpose, or they should have nothing to do with war and government.'

Napoleon was undoubtedly possessed of intellectual powers and resources almost superhuman, but his character, as portrayed by his own pen, shows him to have been

remorseless and pitiless, selfish to an extent almost incredible, and utterly destitute both of heart and conscience. The terrible retribution which ultimately overtook this modern Attila—this scourge of the human race—will stand to the latest generation as a memorial of the righteous judgment of God.

The new French ministry had a difficult task to encounter in their efforts to satisfy the demands of the party that had raised them to power. They were called on at once to take steps to check what the royalists termed 'the licentiousness of the press,' although M. de Châteaubriand had himself been a writer in the press, and his colleagues had opposed the system of censorship adopted by the late Cabinet. Notwithstanding, they felt themselves compelled to deal with the question, and they began by withdrawing the bill of their predecessors for prolonging the censorship, and proposed instead what was termed 'a law on the police of journals.' It was brought in on the 2nd of January by M. Peyronnet, the Minister of Justice, and enacted, that no journal, established after the 1st of January, 1822, should be allowed to be published without the authority of the king; that offences of the press should be tried by the royal courts, which decided without a jury; that the authorities should have power to suspend or even to suppress journals which published a series of articles against religion and the monarchy; that in cases in which the authorities were of opinion that publicity would be dangerous to morality or to order, the proceedings were to be conducted with closed doors; and that, when the Chamber was not sitting, the king should be empowered by an ordonnance, countersigned by the ministers, to re-establish the censorship of the press. These proposals excited a storm of indignation among the deputies of the Left. As each article was read the minister was interrupted with loud exclamations, 'Send your law to Constantinople;' 'You wish to make us regret the loss of

the censorship;' 'In mercy leave us the censors.' The bill was discussed article by article, and every resource of argument and eloquence was exhausted in resisting its adoption. But after debates which were protracted till the 6th of February, the law was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies with little alteration. When the final vote was about to be taken fifty of the liberal members declared that, seeing the uselessness of further opposition to the measure, they would decline to vote upon the question at all. 'We will not,' said M. Keratry, 'be accomplices in the destruction of our liberties.' 'We protest,' said Lafayette, 'and we appeal from this proceeding to the energy of the French people.' They accordingly left the Chamber in a body.

The French people, and especially the citizens of Paris, were violently agitated by the proposals to destroy the liberty of the press and the liberty of the subject, and specially by the repeal of the election law of 1817. Meetings to protest against these proceedings were held in different parts of Paris, which gradually increased in numbers as the debates in the Chambers became more animated, till at last they were attended by 25,000 or 30,000, consisting almost exclusively of persons belonging to the upper and middle classes of society. They embraced, in fact, nearly the whole of the intelligent and independent inhabitants of the capital. Indeed, the only supporters of the ministerial policy were to be found within the walls of the Chambers. The meetings which were held to protest against it were not dispersed by the National Guard, whose attachment to popular principles showed that they could not be relied on for such a purpose, but by the gendarmes and the dragoons. Artillery was stationed on the principal squares of Paris. The deputies who opposed the alteration of the electoral system were publicly insulted by the royal guards; some were even threatened with assassination, and by the employment of mingled threats and

extensive bribery, the elective laws were at length overturned by a majority of five votes.

Unexpectedly, the measure met with a more formidable opposition in the Chamber of Peers than in the Lower House; but with the exception of one amendment of some importance the bill, as it was sent up to them, became law. The act for regulating the police of the periodical press was strongly opposed in both chambers, and in the House of Peers it was denounced in indignant terms by the Baron Pasquier and the Count Simeon, both members of the late Cabinet, who contended that the censorship was every way preferable to the system proposed by the Ministry. Even the Duke de Richelieu objected to the clause which gave the Crown the power of provisionally re-establishing the censorship; but the Ministry carried the measure as it stood, by a majority of 124 votes to 83.

It speedily became apparent that these stringent and arbitrary measures had no effect in promoting the peace of the country, and the security of the throne and the government, but rather tended to give rise to conspiracies for the overthrow, not only of the Ministry, but also of the dynasty. Risings took place in several parts of the country in support of the claims of Napoleon II., and were not suppressed without bloodshed. The most dangerous of these insurrections took place at Saumur, which was headed by a General Berton, who raised the tricolored flag, and issued a proclamation addressed to the French army, announcing that all France had risen to resume her independence, and calling upon the soldiery once more to range themselves under her banners. Berton, however, was quite incompetent to carry out such an enterprise. The insurrection suddenly collapsed. Some of the leaders were tried and condemned to death, one committed suicide, one had his sentence commuted to five years' imprisonment, and five of them were executed. Twenty-five of their associates were condemned to different degrees of imprisonment, and two were acquitted.

Similar outbreaks took place at Belfort, Toulon, and Nantes, and were suppressed without difficulty. A plot which was discovered at Rochelle was regarded with much more apprehension, in consequence of its supposed connection with a general scheme of secret and affiliated associations, extending over the whole kingdom, and having for their object the overthrow of the government. The conspiracy was revealed to the authorities by one of the accomplices, and four of the ringleaders were punished with death, and fourteen with imprisonment and fine. These occurrences plainly indicated the unsettled state of feeling which pervaded the country, and the insecurity of the throne and the government.

The French prime minister was a man of good sense and prudence, and was by no means inclined to govern the country with a high hand. But his plans were overruled and his prudent policy frustrated by the ultra-royalist party and the Count de Artois, who, not satisfied with the supremacy which they obtained in their own country, showed their hostility to the liberals and their measures all over Europe, and were determined to put down the Spanish revolution by force. In the autumn of 1821 a terrible fever broke out in eastern Spain, and the Duke de Richelieu, who was then President of the Council, acting under the advice of the physicians, stationed a body of troops, called a *cordon sanitaire*, on the French side of the Pyrenees, to prevent the fever from penetrating into France. As the winter approached the plague gradually died away; but the French troops, instead of being withdrawn, were increased month after month, until they developed into an 'army of observation,' consisting of 100,000 men. Marshal Victor, the Duke de Belluno, earnestly recommended that it should not be allowed to remain inactive. 'Nothing,' he said, 'is so dangerous as a body of troops in a state of inaction,' and the Ministry made it evident that they were fully resolved to follow his advice.

In Spain and Portugal, though the revolution had been carried out, and constitutional government established, tranquillity and order were unhappily not maintained. In Portugal the new constitution, which had been adopted almost unanimously, guaranteed freedom of person and property, the liberty of the press, legal equality, the abolition of special privileges, and the admission of all citizens to public offices. Still the country was in an unsettled state. The king, John VI., had quitted Brazil and returned to Lisbon, in order, as he announced, the better to show his approbation of the new constitution. But the Cortes distrusted some of the persons by whom His Majesty was attended, and had doubts even as to the sincerity of his own professions; and they obliged him to accede to some restrictions on his power before he was permitted to disembark. On landing, he solemnly swore to observe the new constitution, declaring that he did so with his whole heart.

At the end of March, 1821, a general illumination took place at Lisbon in celebration of the oath to the basis of the new constitution. Some of the foreign ministers declined to illuminate their houses, on the plea that the celebration was no affair of theirs, and the windows of the delegate of the court of Rome were in consequence broken by the populace. The Regency expressed their regret at 'an event so disagreeable,' and undertook to prevent a repetition of the outrage. On the 28th of April, however, another illumination took place, and patrols were placed in front of all the foreign embassies to prevent their being assailed by the mob. Through some mistake, however, the patrol in front of the house occupied by the Chevalier de Bertis, Charge d'Affaires of Austria, was withdrawn, and 'the passing populace, irritated at seeing the house without lights, broke the windows.' The Chevalier, 'to avoid more serious insults,' allowed the embassy to be illuminated. He believed the affront to have been premeditated, and sent a

special courier to his court with an account of the affair. Metternich instructed him to demand immediate and ample satisfaction. The Regency replied, 'that the only satisfaction they could give was to punish the officer commanding the patrol.' At this stage Baron Sturmer, the Austrian envoy, arrived with the king from Rio de Janeiro. He immediately took up the matter, and was supported by the Baron de Thuyll, the Russian minister. But the Ministry declared that they were unable to offer more reparation for the past, or greater security for the future, than they had already given. On this the envoy, in obedience to the orders of the Austrian chancellor, demanded his passports and left Lisbon, taking with him the whole of the diplomatic suite. The Russian ambassador also suspended his functions, and withdrew from the court. 'The Portuguese government,' it was remarked, 'did not seem to take the affair very much to heart.' They were well aware that though the allied monarchs had suspended diplomatic relations with Portugal, on the pretence that the 'inviolability' of the Austrian embassy was not respected, the real ground of their alienation was their dislike to the liberal constitution which the Portuguese had adopted. But they had no apprehension that the Continental despots would venture to interfere with their affairs. Portugal was secure from any attack by land, and its alliance with Great Britain made the country safe from any attack by sea. The British nation would not have allowed any foreign army to land on the shores of Portugal, or any foreign despot to interfere with the action of its government or its people.

The case was different with Spain. It was both difficult and dangerous to intermeddle with the affairs of that unhappy country, even for the purpose of protecting it from an enemy. The intervention of Great Britain against the invasion of Napoleon, and the great sacrifices it had made to deliver Spain from his tyranny, had been



repaid with base ingratitude; and since the downfall of the French emperor there was no valid reason, connected with the peace and safety of the other European states, why any other government should interfere in the civil quarrels and contests of the Spanish people. The allied sovereigns, however, were of a different opinion. They were apprehensive that the example of Spain in the restoration of a liberal constitution would be followed by France and Germany, and they resolved to take immediate measures to quench the revolutionary flame before the conflagration extended to the other countries of Europe. The allied monarchs had arranged to re-assemble in Congress in the summer of 1822, for the purpose of deciding at what time the Austrian forces should be withdrawn from Naples and Piedmont, and to determine what steps should be taken with regard to the Greek revolution. The British Government had no intimation that any other topic would be discussed at the Congress, and were not made aware until a later period that the condition of Spain was also to be taken into consideration. Lord Castlereagh, who had recently, by the death of his father, become Marquis of Londonderry, was appointed as its representative. He was preparing to set out for Vienna, where the Congress was to meet, when he died by his own hand. The Duke of Wellington was at once selected to fill the place of the deceased statesman. A severe attack of illness delayed his departure from England, and meanwhile the Congress had practically decided the Græco-Turkish question, and had adjourned to Verona.

In passing through Paris on his way to Italy, the duke learned with great surprise that the French Cabinet were contemplating an armed intervention in the affairs of Spain, and that they were anxious to obtain the approbation and support of the other allied powers in taking this step. Wellington lost no time in communicating this information to Mr. Canning, who had

succeeded Lord Londonderry as Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had been previously unaware that the Spanish question was to be considered by the Congress. At this stage the British Government received a remonstrance from the four great continental powers, regarding what they termed 'the precipitate departure of Sir William A'Court, the British minister at Naples, who had been appointed to that office at the Court of Madrid, and had departed at once for his post.' His arrival there, it was alleged, would encourage the revolutionary party, and give colour to the prevalent reports that the British Government disapproved of the action of the continental powers. Canning at once saw, 'from the combined movement on the part of the four missions, that some joint public declaration on the affairs of Spain was in the contemplation of the allied sovereigns, and he immediately wrote the Duke of Wellington, 'If the allies entertained a determined project of interference by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are His Majesty's Government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference—so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, and so utterly impracticable in execution—that if the necessity should arise, or (I would rather say) if the opportunity should offer, I am to instruct your grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, His Majesty will not be a party.'

It has been confidently asserted that 'the foreign policy of the British Cabinet under Mr. Canning differed from what it had been under the direction of Lord Castlereagh, rather in the energy with which it was carried out, than in the principles by which it was regulated.' It is quite true that Great Britain was never a member of the Holy Alliance, and had made common cause with absolutism nowhere throughout the world. But it is not correct to affirm that 'her policy inaugurated by Lord Castlereagh had been one of honourable adherence

to treaties, with a fixed determination not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, and an anxious desire to dissuade her allies from acting on an opposite principle.' Lord Castlereagh did, indeed, in his public despatches, profess to act upon the principle of non-intervention, and to disapprove of the conduct of the allied sovereigns in interfering with the proceedings of the liberal party in Naples and Piedmont; but these declarations were merely intended, as he admitted, 'to throw dust in the eyes of Parliament,' and were counteracted by his private communications to the Austrian chancellor. The instructions to the Duke of Wellington, who was appointed the representative of the British Government at the Congress of Verona, had been drawn up before Canning's acceptance of the office of Foreign Secretary; but they were supported in a very different spirit from that of his predecessor in the Ministry, though some time elapsed before the continental sovereigns and their advisers could be brought to believe that a great change had taken place in the feelings of the British Cabinet in regard to their policy.

It had been arranged that the Congress was to commence proceedings at Verona about the middle of October. That old Roman town, usually so dull and quiet, became for some weeks a scene of great activity and splendour. The Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the Kings of Prussia and Sardinia, were the royal visitors, accompanied by their chief ministers, Prince Metternich, Count Nesselrode, Prince Hardenberg, and various subordinate members of their respective governments. The King of France was absent in consequence of infirm health; but his Cabinet was represented by Montmorency, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Châteaubriand, the ambassador at the British court. There were also present a brilliant assemblage of ladies of royal or high rank—the Empress of Austria, the ex-Empress of the French, Maria Louisa

(now Archduchess of Parma), the Queen of Sardinia, with her daughters, the Grand-duchess of Tuscany, the Duchesses of Modena, Lucca, and Florida, the Archduchess—the vice-queen of Lombardy, and other high-born dames, with an immense multitude of persons of all ranks who flocked to Verona to witness this splendid scene.

The Duke of Wellington had learned at Vienna on his way to Verona that the allied powers were by no means at one in their views on the Spanish question. Metternich was anxious to see the new constitution overthrown, and Ferdinand re-established in possession of absolute authority; but he clearly perceived that the attempt would be attended with great danger to the interests of Austria, and was therefore inclined to leave the Spaniards to themselves. The Russian Czar, on the other hand, regarded Spain 'as the headquarters of revolution and Jacobinism,' and was of opinion that 'so long as the revolution in that country should be allowed to continue, every country in Europe, and France in particular, was unsafe.' But on reaching Verona, and discussing among themselves the course that should be adopted, the allied sovereigns found it necessary to discard 'all notion of what is called an European army, or any offensive operation against Spain' in their united capacity. There still remained to be considered, however, the proposal for intervention on the part of France. A confidential meeting of the representatives of Austria, Russia, Prussia, France, and Great Britain, was held on the 20th of October, at which the French plenipotentiaries submitted the following questions to the representatives of the other powers:—

1. 'In case France should find herself compelled to recall her minister from Madrid, and to interrupt all diplomatic relations with Spain, will the high powers be disposed to take the same measures and to recall their respective legations?

2. 'If war should break out between France and Spain, under what form and by what act will the high powers lend to France a moral support which might give to her measures the weight and

authority of the alliance, and inspire a salutary terror into the revolutionists of all countries?

3. 'What are the intentions of the high powers with respect to the extent and mode of material succour which they will be disposed to give to France, upon her demand, in case an active intervention should become necessary?'

The ministers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, stated in reply to these inquiries, that, with respect to their diplomatic relations with Spain, they should follow the example of France, and would give to the French Government a moral support, and even the succours they might require; but reserving to be arranged by treaty the specification of the time and manner of giving this assistance.

The Czar declared his own readiness not only to 'consent to all the demands of the French ministers,' but to march an army of 150,000 men through Germany into Piedmont 'to fall upon France—if the Jacobin party in France should take advantage of the absence of the army, or its possible disaster in Spain, to make any attempt upon the Government—or upon Spain, if the French Government should require its assistance.' Montmorency, a royalist and absolutist of the most extreme type, seemed utterly blind to the danger which would arise to his own country if such a proposal were carried into effect, and was at the first inclined to accept the Czar's offer. But yielding to the advice of the Duke of Wellington and Prince Metternich, who was greatly alarmed at the prospect of a large Russian army being stationed in Italy, he was at last persuaded to 'oppose the movement of any troops by any of the allies till they should be positively called for by France.'

But though the proffered intervention of the Czar was thus set aside, France was still bent on interfering with the affairs of Spain, and was encouraged by Russia, Austria, and Prussia to carry this design into execution. They promised that if the French Government should find it necessary to withdraw its minister from Madrid, they would recall theirs, and would 'give to

France every countenance and assistance she should require.' They also agreed that the ministers of each of the four continental courts at Madrid should 'present a separate note, of the same tenor and drawn upon the same principles.' This proposal, however, to break off all diplomatic intercourse with Spain did not meet with the approval of the British Government. No proof, they said, had been produced to his Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiary of the existence of any design on the part of the Spanish Government to invade the territory of France, of any attempt to introduce disaffection among her soldiery, or of any project to undermine her political institutions; and so long as the struggles and disturbances of Spain should be confined within the circle of her own territory, they could not be admitted by the British Government to afford any plea for foreign interference. The Duke of Wellington informed the allied despots that his Government would not only decline to be a party to the measures which they had concerted with regard to Spain, but that they would endeavour 'to allay the ferment which these measures might occasion at Madrid, and to do all the good in his power.'

From this time forward the continental sovereigns discussed the Spanish question by themselves, but even they were by no means at one respecting the steps which should be taken to restore the unlimited authority of Ferdinand. The Russian Czar alone saw his way to immediate intervention, for the purpose of suppressing a revolution which he considered 'inconsistent with the happiness of Spain and the safety of every other country in Europe.' Austria and Prussia, on the contrary, hesitated as to the course they should pursue, and were kept in a state of suspense between their desire to gratify the Russian emperor and their apprehensions respecting the dangers which would arise from the presence of a large Russian army in Italy. Their apprehensions were no doubt strengthened by the

positive refusal of the Duke of Wellington, acting under the authority of the British Government, to have any thing to do with interference by force or menace in the internal affairs of Spain; and his assurance that, on the contrary, they would do all in their power to counteract the impression which their remonstrances might make at Madrid. In these circumstances the question was left as a matter to be disposed of between France and Spain.

De Villèle, the head of the French Ministry, who insisted on regarding the case exclusively in this light, was anxious that it should be settled, if possible, in a peaceable manner; and at this stage he hurriedly sent a minister to Verona earnestly soliciting the three allied sovereigns to suspend the transmission to Madrid of the remonstrances which they had agreed to forward to their representatives at the Spanish court. They declined, however, to comply with this request. The despatches were accordingly sent, and as they produced no effect on the proceedings of the Spanish Government, the ministers of the three powers were withdrawn from Madrid.

Montmorency, the French representative at Verona, was an ultra-royalist; and in spite of the instructions which he had received from the head of his government, he had persisted in regarding the Spanish question as exclusively European, and was bent on war. He returned from Verona, bringing with him the draft of the despatches which the allied sovereigns proposed sending to Madrid, and of a similar remonstrance from the French Government which he had prepared and had pledged himself should be sent in support of theirs. De Villèle, however, refused to sanction the transmission of this document, and substituted for it a more conciliatory despatch prepared by the king and himself. Montmorency on this disavowal of his policy resigned his office, and Châteaubriand was appointed his successor. This brilliant but untrustworthy statesman had up to this time declined to identify himself with the foreign policy of

the ultra-royalists, and De Villèle believed him to be imbued with his own moderate views. But now having obtained the object of his ambition, he embraced with zeal and ardour the policy advocated by his predecessor in the ministry of foreign affairs, and employed every effort to induce his government to interfere by force in the affairs of Spain. In his 'Memoirs' he attempts to defend his conduct, by pleading that it was necessary for the grandeur of France and the security of the Bourbon dynasty. His object, he says, was 'to replace France in the rank of military powers; to restore the white cockade in a war almost without danger, to which the opinions of the royalists and the army strongly inclined.' In his unscrupulous eagerness to carry out these views, Châteaubriand not only brought unfounded accusations against the Spanish Cortes and people, but had even the effrontery to affirm that the British Government had given a pledge that they would support this policy.

The French king, however, and his prime minister had great misgivings as to the consequences of an armed intervention in the affairs of the Peninsula, and were apprehensive that in a war undertaken for the suppression of a liberal constitution sanctioned by the people and the Cortes, and even by the king himself, the French troops might make common cause with those of Spain. The Duke of Wellington, who on his return from Verona had a confidential interview with Louis XVIII., used all his influence to strengthen the pacific inclinations of the king and his chief minister. At this juncture the Spanish Government solicited the counsel and mediation of Great Britain. The duke was instructed by Mr. Canning to offer the services of the British Government to mediate between France and Spain. The offer was declined by the French cabinet on the pretext that the grounds of difference between the two courts were not of that distinct and definite kind that admitted of exact specification and practical

adjustment; that they had arisen out of the position in which the two kingdoms found themselves placed, and out of the influence which the events passing in Spain had upon the internal tranquillity of France. In the interview, however, which the Duke of Wellington had with the king, Louis casually remarked that 'the best thing the British Government could do would be to endeavour to prevail upon the Spaniards to modify their system in such a manner as to give the King of Spain some security for the safety of his person, and more authority, and to the system itself more stability.' Acting on this hint, the British Government about the first week of January, 1823, despatched Lord Fitzroy Somerset, one of Wellington's intimate friends, to Madrid with a confidential communication from the duke earnestly recommending the Spanish ministers to make some modifications of their constitution, so as to afford the French prime minister a motive and a pretext for withdrawing from the menacing position which his government had assumed towards Spain. 'Spaniards of all parties and descriptions,' said Canning, 'admitted some modifications of the constitution of 1812 to be indispensably necessary, and in such a crisis as that in which Spain now found herself—distracted at once by the miseries of civil war and by the apprehension of foreign invasion—the adoption of modifications, so admitted to be desirable in themselves, might afford a prospect of composing her internal dissensions,' and might at the same time bring about a peaceable solution of the questions at issue between France and Spain.

It is quite possible that these prudent recommendations emanating from the Duke of Wellington, whose high position, and the benefits he had conferred on Spain, entitled his counsels to be regarded by the Spanish Government with peculiar respect, might have produced the desired effect. But, unfortunately, at this critical moment the ultra-royalist party obtained complete predominance at the Tuilleries; and at the

opening of the French Chambers Louis delivered a speech which rendered war inevitable, and completely frustrated the friendly efforts of the British Government to bring about an accommodation between France and Spain. 'I have made every endeavour,' the king said, 'to guarantee the security of my people, and to preserve Spain herself from the extremity of misfortune; the insatiation with which the representations made at Madrid have been rejected, leaves little hope of preserving peace. I have ordered the recall of my minister; 100,000 Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of my family—by him whom my heart delights to call my son—are ready to march, invoking the God of St. Louis for the sake of preserving the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV., of saving that fine kingdom from its ruin, and of reconciling it with Europe.'

The most offensive part of the speech was the reference to the position and privileges of the Spanish king, which virtually adopted the notorious declaration of the allied despots at Laybach. 'Useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states,' they wrote, 'ought only to emanate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God had rendered responsible for power.' 'Let Ferdinand VII.,' re-echoed Louis, 'be free to give to his people the institutions which they cannot hold but from him. From that moment hostilities shall cease.'

This arrogant statement created deep indignation among all parties and classes in Great Britain, and it was denounced in the strongest terms in the House of Commons by the new Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His predecessor had waited six weeks before he blamed, in timid, feeble, and ambiguous terms, the Laybach manifesto of the continental monarchs. But Canning, as he stated in the House of Commons, waited 'not a week, not even a day,' in telling the French Government that 'the principle avowed in the king's speech was

one which a British statesman could not acknowledge, that it struck directly at the root of the British constitution, and that, as it could not be accepted as part of the British code of law, it could not be recommended by a British statesman to the acceptance of any other people. Of the construction to which the words of the speech were liable, and which, indeed, they most naturally bore,' said the eloquent statesman, 'there was not a man in the house who thought with more disgust and abhorrence than he did. If that speech were to be understood in the plain meaning of the words—namely, that the Spanish people were to be called upon to consent to certain modifications in their constitution, not because it was faulty in itself or dangerous to the neighbouring states, or unsafe even to the prince who ruled by it, but because it was not an emanation from the Crown—it was clear, on the one hand, that no Spaniard who had the slightest regard to the independence of his country could consent either to modify or to hear a modification proposed of that constitution; and on the other, that no British statesman, who valued his character as a member of a free state, could either think or hear of his country being made a party to negotiations for the purpose of discussing such monstrous proposals.'

The 'monstrous' proposition which the French ministers had put into the mouth of their king was indeed well fitted to excite deep indignation in the breast, not only of every Briton and every Spaniard, but of every right-thinking person. The assertion that reforms of a national constitution could not be tolerated unless made voluntarily by a despot, who in the case of Spain was almost imbecile, that the people have no rights except what he may choose to bestow upon them of his own free will, is an avowal worthy of the darkest of the dark ages. The statement also served to convict the French court of most disgraceful dissimulation. Up to this time they had in their communications with the British Govern-

ment professed an anxious desire for peace, and yet they now publicly declared that war was unavoidable 'so long as institutions existed in Spain that were not freely given by and held of the good pleasure of Ferdinand.' The indignation expressed at this statement in Louis' speech induced the French Ministry to make a futile attempt to explain away the words, and to 'adopt another construction of them' which, Canning justly said, 'the words were not altogether qualified to bear.'

It was notorious that the French Government had intrigued against the Spanish Ministry and fomented insurrections among the King of Spain's guards and the peasantry against the constitution. They had permitted the Spanish insurgents to assemble with forms of public authority on the French territory; they countenanced the raising of loans in Paris for the insurgents; they not only gave them an asylum when, after their defeat, they fled into France, but they allowed them to march back into Spain to raise again the standard of rebellion; and in the midst of all this instigation, support, and countenance, they had the meanness and bad faith to complain of the Spanish troops for having pursued the insurgents twice or thrice into valleys of the Pyrenees, where the frontiers of the two countries have never been accurately defined, though they are claimed by France as part of her dominions. The Spanish Government, in repudiating the imputations preferred against them by the French Ministry, made a cutting reference to their unfair and dishonourable conduct towards Spain. 'Up to this time,' they said, 'no French soldier or peasant can be cited whom we have seduced, armed, paid, and thrust into the bosom of his country to devastate it. We have not raised the tricolor flag; we have not refused to publish generous and salutary amnesty; we have not invited to evening assemblies of etiquette French outlaws and conspirators; we have not tolerated that an individual at Madrid should invest himself publicly

with the title of *Charge d'Affaires* of the regency of France, whilst his Excellency M. de Lagarde was ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty at the court of his Catholic Majesty. In fine, we have done nothing against the French of those things which the French Government have done against us, and we have done for the governments which excommunicate us, what none of them have done for us.' 'The representatives of Spain,' they said, at the close of this spirited appeal, 'have ever declared that their country will never interfere with the internal affairs of other powers, and that neither will she consent to the scandalous dictation which it is wished to impose upon her.'

The king's speech was made the subject of a violent debate in both the French Chambers, and the statement respecting Spain was severely criticised and condemned, especially by M. de Talleyrand, who referred to the warning he had given Napoleon of 'the dangers that would arise out of an aggression equally rash and unjust.' 'Disgrace,' said the veteran diplomatist, 'was the reward of my sincerity. After so long an interval, I find myself, by a singular destiny, under the necessity of renewing the same efforts and the same counsels.' He warned the Government that they were pursuing an unjust as well as an unpopular policy, and that the wishes of the French people were decidedly for peace. 'On one side there is a whole people, and, on the other, some individual interests, which endeavour to turn to their advantage exclusively a restoration which was intended for the benefit of society at large.' It is an instructive proof of the state of feeling at this time in the two Chambers, that De Villèle thought it necessary to make the discreditable avowal in defence of the Government against the attack of M. de la Bourdonnaye, a fanatical royalist, that they 'had done everything that was in their power to favour the internal dissensions of Spain. Everything,' he said, 'which could be done against the

constitutional system was done. It was difficult to supply the extravagant demands for men and money made by the chiefs of bands; but assistance was given them, insurrection was stirred up wherever it was possible.' Of course, the ministerial policy was very cordially approved by the great majority of both Chambers, and an address was presented to the king by the Chamber of Deputies, expressed in terms offensive alike to good taste and good feeling, lauding the policy of the prince 'destined by Providence to close the abyss of revolutions, and to save Spain from the disastrous effects of the rebellion of a band of perjured soldiers.' The Chamber of Peers, indeed, though nominated by the king alone, 'as the bulwark and aristocratical fence of the monarchy,' gave no countenance to the infamous maxim that the Spaniards could receive and hold their liberties only from the hands and at the will of Ferdinand. But the Chamber of Deputies loudly applauded a theory of government according to which they themselves could not have existed, and would not then have been permitted to assemble to betray every principle of constitutional freedom. So outrageous were they in their support of these despotic maxims announced by their sovereign, that they expelled, amid a disgraceful scene of violence and clamour, one of the deputies, M. Manuel, simply because he had the courage to remind them of the fate of the Stewarts, who relied on the protection of France in opposition to their own people, and of the ruin which overtook the royal family of France in consequence of the interference of the other sovereigns of Europe in their behalf, after they had forfeited the confidence of their own subjects. Sixty of the deputies, however, formally protested against this procedure. 'We are convinced,' they said, 'that this first step is but the prelude to the system which conducts France to an unjust war abroad, in order to consummate the counter revolution at home, and to invite the foreign occupation of our ter-

ritory.' All the members, except two of the left side of the Chamber of Deputies (170 in number), withdrew in a body from the house, and they abstained during the remainder of the session from again appearing in their places, or taking any share in the proceedings of the Chambers.

These discussions in the Legislature were accompanied with great agitation throughout the kingdom; and crowds, chiefly composed of the working-classes, assembled in the capital and attacked the gendarmes and the Swiss soldiers amid shouts of 'Vivé Manuel!' 'Vivé la Charte!' A much more serious manifestation of public feeling against the impending war with Spain was the alarm which the prospect of hostilities excited in the manufacturing and commercial districts of the country. As Talleyrand warned the Government, 'All the parts of the empire, which presents so many varied interests, are unanimous on this question—Lille coincides with Strasbourg, Lyons with Bordeaux, and Marseilles with Grenoble.' Addresses were presented to the Chambers, signed by great numbers of persons engaged in the different branches of commercial and manufacturing industry, deprecating war with Spain as fatal to the internal prosperity of France. But the Ministry persisted in their preparations for war. The necessary supplies were voted by the Chambers, and at length a formal communication was made to them by the Minister of War on the 10th of April, that hostilities had commenced; on the 7th of that month the Duke d'Angoulême had crossed the Bidassoa.

While the continental despots were thus concerting the destruction of the Spanish constitution, and the restoration of the absolute authority of the king, both the Government and the people of that unhappy country were torn by internal dissensions. The suppression of many of the convents, some impolitic as well as unjust decrees of the Cortes on ecclesiastical property, and the banishment of those of the clergy who refused to give

in their adherence to the new constitution, excited discontentment among the peasantry. Conspiracies and openly avowed disaffection to the new order of things spread widely, and a Junta was formed by the royalist and priestly party for restoring the privileges of the crown and the church. Complaints were everywhere made of the weakness and incompetence of the Ministry, and the Cortes petitioned the king to dismiss them, and to intrust the administration of public affairs to men who were qualified for the task. The king reluctantly complied with this request, and accepted the resignation of four of the ministers, but did not immediately appoint their successors, and their colleagues who remained provisionally in office were not able to restore the country to peace and order. They clamoured for stronger powers, and the king, adverting to the perilous position in which the country was placed by 'the audacity of the factious enemies of the government,' submitted three bills to the consideration of the Cortes. The object of the first was the repression of the abuses of the liberty of the press. It denounced as *subversive* all writings injurious to the person of the king; as *seditions*, all such as circulated doctrines or statements calculated to disturb the public tranquillity; and as *defamatory*, all writings injurious to the reputation of individuals. The second law was intended to restrict the individual right of petition, and to forbid petitions from collective bodies as illegal, when the object of them was not confined within the sphere of their legitimate functions. By the third it was proposed to subject all political clubs and societies to the strict and vigilant superintendence of the police.

These proposed laws were strenuously opposed in the Cortes, and a motion for their rejection was defeated by a majority of only six; but though they were vehemently denounced by the populace, and the Cortes had to be protected by a military guard, they were ultimately adopted by small majorities.



at length completed; but the Cortes were not more favourable to them than to their predecessors. Disaffection still prevailed strongly in the provinces of Biscay, Navarre, and Galicia, and was studiously fostered by the officers of the French army, stationed first as a sanitary cordon, and next as 'an army of observation' on the frontier. It culminated at length in an open revolt, which was suppressed without much difficulty by the national guards. The insurgents, however, gathered round 'the banner of Royalism and the Faith,' were liberally supplied with funds by the friends of absolutism, and were thus enabled to harass the government, and to keep the country in a state of excitement. Riots, attended with great destruction to property and loss of life, broke out at Lorca, Valencia, and Pampeluna. At Lorca, on the 30th of April, the populace of the town, assisted by the neighbouring peasantry, broke open the prisons in which some of the conspirators were confined, and set them at liberty, amid cries of 'the King for ever! Religion for ever!' They afterwards attacked and burnt the house of the judge, and it was not until fresh troops were called in to the assistance of the garrison that the riot was suppressed, after a violent and bloody struggle. At Pampeluna there was a similar conflict between the troops and the inhabitants; and at Valencia a detachment of artillery in the citadel suddenly raised the cry of 'Long live the King! Down with the Constitution!' and it was not until a fire was opened upon the fort by the townsmen that they were compelled to surrender.

The Ministry, who were for the most part composed of members of the moderate party, took such measures as lay in their power to suppress these insurrectionary movements; but the majority of the Cortes were not satisfied with their operations, and insisted that the administration of affairs should be intrusted to other and abler hands. In an address to the king, which was carried by a majority of 81 votes to 54, they pointed out what they regarded

as the main causes of the disorder which was desolating the country, and dwelt on the necessity of intrusting the management of affairs to men who would adopt prompt and energetic measures to protect the constitution. They denounced in strong language the conduct of those 'ambitious prelates—those ministers of the sanctuary—who abuse the sacred and august functions of the priesthood to the propagation of superstition and the encouragement of disobedience; who preach against the liberty which the constitution sanctions; first deceive and then stimulate the people to insurrection, and would convert unhappy Spain into a frightful theatre of civil war.' And they conclude with an expression of their confidence that His Majesty would expel from the country 'those ecclesiastics and prelates who preach up fanaticism and rebellion, and prevent their return to fan the fire of discord, and light the torches of superstition.'

Ferdinand, who had left the capital some time previously, was now residing at Aranjuez, confined, as he alleged, by a fit of the gout, returned a vague and general reply to this address, evading its principal object, and merely expressing a hope that he would be enabled to restore public tranquillity by the employment of the resources and means intrusted to him by the Cortes, without having recourse to the dangerous expedient of extraordinary laws.

Meanwhile the insurrection continued to gain ground in the northern provinces. In Catalonia the two convents of Poblets and Escorial became the headquarters of the insurgents, who were under the command of Antonio Maranon, or the Trappist, a monk of La Trappe, who had formerly been an officer, and whose habits, appearance, and language had gained him great ascendancy over the ignorant and fanatical peasantry. He rode at the head of his band attired in his monastic habit, and bearing a cross in the one hand and a sabre in the other. Several severe engagements took place between the insurgents

and the constitutional forces, in one which, fought at Cervera, the former were defeated with the loss of 1200 men. But though almost always worsted in their encounters, they still kept the field; and after each repulse they collected fresh recruits and attacked the national forces at another point. In the month of June the Trappist, at the head of nearly 5000 men, achieved an important success in carrying by escalade the town and fortress of Seu d'Urgel, which henceforth became the headquarters of the insurrection in Catalonia.

On the 27th of June Ferdinand returned to Madrid, and on the 30th he closed the session of the Cortes in a speech expressing his confidence in the future prosperity of the kingdom under constitutional rule. On his return from the hall of the Cortes he was saluted with loud cries of 'Liberty and the Constitution;' 'The constitutional king for ever.' The royalists in the mob, among whom were some soldiers, responded with shouts of 'Long live the king *only*.' On his arrival at the palace some of the populace, who were shouting 'Riego for ever,' endeavoured to enter the court along with the royal escort. They were repelled by the soldiers, who were so exasperated by the insults of the populace that they killed in the court-yard of the palace one of their own officers, a Lieutenant Landaburn, who was known to be a zealous supporter of the constitution. The news of this dastardly act excited a violent agitation in the city, and the militia and the troops of the garrison were called out and remained under arms all night. The Government immediately issued orders that the assassins should be brought to justice, and all proper precautions were taken to preserve the public peace; but the excitement still continued. Rumours of the most alarming kind were industriously circulated both by the absolutists and the constitutionalists. At length, on the evening of the 2nd July, four battalions of the guards, amounting to from 1500 to 2000 men, raised the standard of revolt and

entrenched themselves on the Prado. Meanwhile, Ferdinand remained shut up in his palace under the protection of the remaining battalions of the royal guard.

It was evidently the object of the more violent liberals to separate the king from the small body of troops that still surrounded him, and the municipality invited Ferdinand to repair with his family to the town hall. But though this request was strongly supported by a deputation from the Cortes, His Majesty, who was well aware of its object, firmly refused to leave the palace. The ministers, who were placed in a very difficult and perplexing position between the violence of the democratic clubs of Madrid on the one hand, and the ignorant fanaticism and bigotry of the rural population on the other, now tendered their resignation; but the king positively declined to accept of it, and commanded them to remain with him in the palace. This state of anxious suspense was at length brought to a close by the mutinous guards, who had formed the project of obtaining possession of the person of the king by making a sudden attack upon the city. Accordingly, at three o'clock on the morning of the 7th, the four battalions broke up from the Prado and endeavoured to make their way into the capital. They were immediately attacked, however, by the troops of the garrison of Madrid, supported by the militia, and were completely defeated. A portion of the fugitives took refuge with their comrades in the palace. The leaders of the liberal party in the city demanded that the whole of the royal guards should lay down their arms, and that the murderers of Lieutenant Landaburn should be given up to justice. Ferdinand reluctantly gave his assent to these terms, but the guards, on learning that they were to be disarmed, took to flight, and made their escape into the country. A strong body of cavalry and militia were promptly despatched in pursuit of the mutineers, and overtook them at the village of Bondella. The greater part of them were either killed or taken pri-

soners, and the royal guard was completely destroyed.

The king was now entirely in the hands of the 'Exaltados,' as the extreme liberals were called, and a new administration was formed, composed almost wholly of members of that party. A rapid change took place also in the members of the royal household, and even General Morillo, though he had exerted himself to the utmost in the defeat of the royal guards, was deprived of his posts as captain-general and political-chief of Madrid. The Duke de Infantado, the Marquises of Las Amarillas and Castellar, and other royal counsellors, who were accused of fomenting hostility to the constitution, were exiled by royal authority.

While the capital was in this state of excitement and disturbance, the insurrection of the absolutists continued to extend itself in Catalonia and Navarre. They had obtained, as we have seen, an important advantage by the capture of the fortress of Seu d'Urgel, and on the 23rd of July they carried by a sudden assault the town and fort of Mequinenza, and put to the sword the whole garrison, consisting of about 400 men. Emboldened by these successes, the absolutists now established at Seu d'Urgel a provisional government, composed of the Marquis of Mata Florida, the Archbishop of Tarragona, and General Baron d'Erolles, under the designation of 'the Supreme Regency of Spain, during the captivity of His Majesty, King Ferdinand VII.' They issued orders in the name of the 'imprisoned' king, and even went through the form of appointing ministers for the various departments of government. They declared that all the royal edicts published in the king's name since he had sworn to maintain the new constitution, were without validity, and should remain so until His Majesty, on being restored to liberty, should think fit to publish and ratify them anew.

At this period the insurgents had become powerful and very troublesome to the Ministry throughout Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia, had obtained possession of five

strong fortresses, blockaded several others, and almost wholly cut off the communications between the other strongholds still retained by the Government. Early in September, however, the redoubtable General Mina arrived to assume the military command of the district, and the aspect of affairs speedily changed. The absolutists abandoned Cervera at his approach. Castell-ollit, after a siege of seven days, was carried by assault, and the town sacked, burned, and razed to the ground. A similar fate was threatened to every town that should surrender to a band of rebels amounting in number to less than one-third of its population. General d'Erolles, marching to recover Castell-ollit, encountered Mina between Torn and Sunahuga, and met with a signal defeat. The constitutionalists were equally successful in Navarre, and obtained a complete victory over the insurgents under Quesada, of whom not less than 800 men were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and their commander took refuge in Bayonne. The self-appointed regency in these circumstances thought it prudent to transfer their headquarters to Puycerda, near the frontier of France, whence their chief supplies were drawn. 'Among the other attributes of more regular governments, they did not forget that of borrowing money, and they opened a loan of 80,000,000 of reals in the name of his Catholic Majesty, mortgaging for the payment of the loan the annual revenues, known in Spain under the name of the ecclesiastical subsidies.' The French Government, much to their discredit, connived at the attempts made in Paris to negotiate this loan and the sale of these securities.

Mina in the meantime followed up his successes with great energy and rapidity, defeated the insurgents in every encounter, drove them step by step to the frontier, and ultimately compelled the regency and the other leaders, including the Trappist and General d'Erolles, to take refuge in France. From the Pyrenees he published a general amnesty for the peasantry and

soldiers who were willing to return to their own country and to their allegiance.

In Navarre, Charles O'Donnell, the brother of the double-dealing and fickle Count del Abisbal, who had once more joined the absolutists, assumed the command of the insurgents on the flight of Quesada; but he met with no better success than his predecessor, and was completely defeated in a battle which took place at Estella. The remnant of his troops, consisting mainly of the peasantry, dispersed themselves among their respective villages. Thus, at the close of the year the constitutional cause seemed everywhere triumphant; and but for the support received from France, the insurrection would at this stage have been entirely suppressed. The appearance of the French army on the scene, however, speedily changed the aspect of affairs.

The Cortes were meanwhile busied in making preparations to resist the impending invasion of their country. They had unfortunately no ally. The relations of Portugal with Great Britain did not allow her to take an active part in Spanish quarrels; and the British Government, for weighty reasons, found it expedient to remain neutral, though the exportation of arms and ammunition to Spain was formally permitted, and Canning publicly denounced the invasion of the French as unjust, and wished the Spanish arms success. The Cortes were not equal to the emergency, and took more pains to vindicate the dignity of their country by words, and to repudiate in their official documents the attempt of foreign powers to interfere in their affairs, than to unite all parties in a determined resistance to the French arms. Much against his will they removed the king and the seat of government to Seville, ordered an addition of 30,000 men to the army, and took measures to provision and put in a state of defence the fortresses on the eastern and western frontiers. General Mina was appointed to the command of the forces in Catalonia; O'Donnell—Count d'Abisbal—was intrusted with the defence of Madrid;

Ballasteros was set over the eastern provinces of Arragon, Valencia, and Murcia; while Morillo assumed the command in the north of Spain, including Galicia, Asturias, and Leon.

Military operations did not commence till the 7th of April. The invading army crossed the Bidassoa without opposition, but an attack which they made on St. Sebastian was repulsed with considerable loss; and leaving a body of troops to blockade that strong fortress, the Duke d'Angoulême proceeded towards Madrid. It soon became evident that the adherents of the constitution were confined to the educated class, the army, and the citizens of the large towns, and that the mass of the people, ignorant and superstitious, were completely under the control of the priesthood, who eagerly hailed the arrival of the French to restore the absolute form of government. The Spaniards seemed to have formed no definite or united plan of resistance, and abandoned position after position, though at insulated points they fought obstinately, and sometimes successfully, against the invaders. A desperate struggle took place at Logrono, and the citizens of Pampeluna and Santona refused the terms offered them, and prepared to stand a siege.

The French army moved on slowly and cautiously, evidently dreading a renewal of the guerilla warfare from which they had suffered so severely in Napoleon's invasion of Spain; but all efforts to rouse the people to defend the constitution proved abortive. The Duke d'Angoulême fixed his headquarters at Vittoria for a month, and then moved to Burgos, which he reached on the 10th of May. He then advanced with his army towards Madrid, meeting with no opposition on his march. In Lower Catalonia, where Mina commanded, they were kept in check for a considerable time; but the southern provinces, where the absolutists had always been predominant, were occupied by the invaders with scarcely any resistance. When the main body of the French army

under Angoulême reached Madrid, the constitutionalists proposed terms of surrender. Abisbal had been able to muster only 5000 men for the defence of the capital; and seeing clearly that resistance to the overwhelming forces of the enemy would have served no purpose but to expose his men to certain destruction and to subject the city to all the horrors of a capture by assault, he agreed to a convention by which his troops were to hold the capital till the French were ready to enter, and to protect the citizens against the excesses of the army of the Faith. Bessières, however, one of the absolutist leaders, attempted to force an entrance at the head of a strong column of infantry and cavalry; but after a fierce conflict he was defeated with the loss of eighty men killed, a great number wounded, and 700 taken prisoners. This attempt to violate the terms of capitulation made it necessary for the French to take possession of the city on the 23rd of May, a day sooner than was intended.

One of the first steps taken by Angoulême on obtaining the surrender of the capital was to appoint a regency, consisting of five individuals, headed by the Duke de Infantado, who were intrusted with the government of the country so long as 'the king was kept in a state of captivity.' They declared, like the allied monarchs at Trap-pau, that the king is the sole depositary of sovereign power, and that they would recognize no change that should be made in the constitution, but such as the king should make of his own free choice. But they had no pecuniary resources, and no power, even if they had the will, to restrain the furious ebullitions of the absolutists against the friends of the constitution, and the people had to look to the French for protection against the violence of their fellow-countrymen. It soon became evident that the constitutional cause was lost. No efforts could succeed in calling forth a display of national feeling, or rousing the people to take up arms against the French invaders. Dissensions broke out in the ranks of

the constitutionalists. Treason soon began to display itself amongst the officers of the army, and materially contributed of course to the downfall of their cause. The Count del Abisbal was the first to set the example, which soon found a host of imitators. On the 26th of June, General Morillo issued a proclamation declaring the members of the Cortes to be traitors, and, a fortnight later, deserted to the enemy with 3000 men. He shortly after withdrew from the country and took refuge in England. Ballasteros was the next to follow, after bargaining for the continuance of rank in the army and pay to himself and his inferior officers, so that Riego and Mina alone of the chief generals remained faithful to the constitutional cause.

While their adherents were thus falling away on every side, the Cortes continued as busy as ever in publishing bombastic proclamations, boasting of their patriotism and their determination to defend their country to the last, and as negligent in providing means to carry their resolutions into effect. They issued manifestos, discussed plans of defence, threatened the severest punishments against traitors, and passed decrees for conducting hostilities with success. But while these schemes remained a dead letter, and their attempts to excite a guerilla war completely failed, they continued to increase the hatred of the absolutists and to alienate not a few of their friends by the seizure of the property of their opponents, the exaction of a large forced loan, and the melting down and coining of the church plate. The war had now spread from the south to the north, and was actively prosecuted in Andalusia and Estremadura, the tide every where running strong against the constitutionalists. Sir William A'Court, the British ambassador, recommended the Government to negotiate with their opponents in order to bring hostilities to a termination, and offered to mediate between the two parties; but the Cortes, while thanking him for his good intentions, replied that they

stood in no need of any foreign interference.

They now resolved to remove the seat of government to Cadiz, the last stronghold of the constitutional cause; but Ferdinand, who had observed the growing unpopularity of his ministers, was most averse to such a step, and positively refused to accompany them. In this emergency the Cortes decreed that the king was in a state of 'moral insanity,' and appointed a regency with sovereign powers—a step which not only offered a gross indignity to the king, but was impolitic in the existing circumstances of the country. The British ambassador intimated that as he was accredited to the king, and not to a regency, he could not follow the government to Cadiz without further instructions. He, therefore, resolved to remain at Seville, as did also the minister of the United States of America, the ambassador of the Netherlands, and the ambassador of Sweden. Sir William A'Court shortly after took up his residence at Gibraltar. Ferdinand at last consented to accompany the Cortes and his ministers to Cadiz, being no doubt aware that if he had persisted in his refusal the Cortes had resolved to remove him by force. On his arrival at Cadiz, however, the three regents formally intimated their resignation of the executive power with which they had been intrusted during the journey of His Majesty and the royal family.

Great indignation was expressed by the regency of Madrid at the removal of the king from Seville. That body, which was now recognized by the four allied powers as the only legitimate government of Spain, issued a decree denouncing the penalties of treason, confiscation, and death against the members of the Cortes who had declared the king morally incapable, and they treated in a most cruel and vindictive manner the friends of the constitution within their power, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Duke d'Angoulême to restrain their excesses. He was ultimately compelled to deprive them of the powers he had intrusted to them, which they had so grossly abused,

and much to their disgust, he issued a decree prohibiting any arrest by Spanish authorities without the sanction of the French officer commanding in the district.

The duke arrived on the 10th of August at Port St. Mary, where he found an army of 30,000 men ready for operations against Cadiz. A personal appeal was made to Ferdinand to come to terms, with the intimation that if within five days he was still deprived of liberty, force would be employed to restore it to him. An answer was returned in the king's name, declaring that he was not deprived of any other liberty than that of which the operations of the French army had stripped him, and that he could not submit to the proposals made to him by the duke. On this the siege was commenced, and pressed with great vigour. An assault on the Trocadero, which commands all the approaches to Cadiz by sea, was made on the 30th of August, and was repulsed with considerable loss, but on the following night it was taken by surprise. The fort of Santi Petri next fell into the hands of the besiegers. The city was then bombarded by a flotilla of gun-boats, and the French next attempted to land on the isle of Leon. The Spaniards now saw that further resistance was hopeless and useless. Mutinies among the troops and dissensions in the Cortes had paralysed their operations, and it was at last agreed that Ferdinand should be re-invested with absolute power, and should be allowed to meet the Duke d'Angoulême at Port St. Mary, as his Royal Highness had some time before proposed. The king accordingly, after solemnly promising in a formal proclamation a complete amnesty and full oblivion of all offences committed by or alleged against the constitutionalists, repaired, on the 1st of October, to the French headquarters, where he was received with great pomp and ceremony. His first step was to declare all the acts of the constitutional government from March 7, 1820, to October 1, 1823, null and void, on the plea that during that period he was acting under

compulsion. He then issued an order that Cadiz should be delivered up to the French, and on the 3rd of October they took possession of that city.

While these events were taking place at Cadiz the invaders were employed in breaking up and dispersing the patriotic bands in the other districts of the country, and prosecuting the siege of the fortified towns, which still held out against their assaults. Riego was defeated at the village of Iodar, in Granada, and his men dispersed in all directions. The patriotic chief himself escaped and wandered for some time among the mountains, but was ultimately betrayed into the hands of the French, by whom he was basely delivered up to the absolutist regency at Madrid. Corunna and Ferrol opened their gates to the French. Mina, however, gallantly maintained the contest for some time in Catalonia. The French general Moncey, after failing in an attempt on Barcelona, suddenly marched against Tarragona, but was defeated by the Spaniards under Milans, the coadjutor of Mina, with the admitted loss of 600 men. The victors asserted that the loss in reality amounted to 1700, of whom 170 were taken prisoners. Pampeluna, however, after a protracted and vigorous defence, capitulated on the 17th of September. Santona surrendered on the 26th and St. Sebastian on the 27th of that month, and Figueras shortly after fell into the hands of the French.

Mina could have protracted for some time longer the struggle in Catalonia; but after the surrender of Cadiz he saw that to do so would only increase the sufferings of the people and the exhaustion of the country. He therefore consented to surrender Barcelona on honourable terms, securing the safety of his soldiers from the outrages of the absolutists; and then provided for his own by setting sail for England, where, on his landing, he was received with the most enthusiastic applause. Badajoz and Carthagena held out till the end of the war. On the 13th of November Ferdinand returned to Madrid, and on the 23rd of that

month the Duke d'Angoulême recrossed the Bidassoa, and on the 2nd of December made a triumphal entry into Paris. He left behind him the greater part of his army, and by a convention between the two governments, the principal fortresses and cities of Spain were to be occupied for six months by 40,000 French troops.

In the miserable condition to which Spain was now reduced, the presence of the French army contributed somewhat to repair the injuries which their invasion had inflicted upon the country, by restraining the persecuting and vindictive proceedings of the restored government (at the head of which was Don Victor Saiz, who had long been the king's confessor) against the friends of the constitution. Many of them sought safety in flight, and of those who remained great numbers were secretly and arbitrarily imprisoned, in flagrant violation of Ferdinand's promise at Cadiz. But for the intervention of the French this system of persecution would have been carried to a still greater height. The gallant chief Riego, who was an honest as well as a brave man and a true patriot, with a flagrant contempt both of law and justice, was condemned to death for his share in the proceedings of the Cortes at Seville, and on the 7th of November was hanged on a gibbet sixty feet in height. The whole proceedings of the restored government were conducted in the same revengeful, fraudulent, and oppressive spirit. The Treasury was empty, home and foreign credit were alike destroyed, and trade and commerce were paralysed. The bitter hatred which the two parties cherished towards each other was manifested in every possible way. Society, already shaken by years of war and unrestrained license and deeds of violence, seemed on the eve of entire dissolution; and it is doubtful whether the country has ever recovered from the effects of the unwarrantable and unprovoked interference of France with its constitution and government.

The restoration of the old form of

government in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was not followed by the return of tranquillity, still less of contentment among the subjects of King Ferdinand. The measures taken by the old despot, indeed, on finding himself once more in possession of absolute authority, were not calculated to reconcile his people to the abrogation of the constitution. Numerous State trials immediately followed his return to his own dominions. Rumours of secret associations and conspiracies continued to disturb his mind, and to excite him to incessant vigilance and activity to discover the Carbonari who were plotting the overthrow of his government. The proceedings adopted by his ministers against all whom they even suspected of complicity in these conspiracies were enveloped in such secrecy, that it is difficult to discover either the precise nature of the charges brought against them, or the evidence, if any, by which they were supported. Sometimes, however, the indignation almost universally felt at the tyranny of the government broke out in such a form that it could no longer be concealed. Two persons suspected of Carbonarism, one of them a lay brother of the Franciscan order, were arrested and imprisoned, the one at Lorenzana, the other at Cabillo, about the end of January 1822. But their associates or accomplices broke open by night the prisons in which they were confined, and set them at liberty. The Government were both alarmed and enraged at this outrage, and immediately adopted rigorous measures to punish those who had taken part in it. The whole district in which it had occurred was placed under military law. The inhabitants were disarmed. A court-martial was instituted for the trial of the rioters, and no fewer than twenty-four of the ringleaders implicated in the affair were condemned to death; but fifteen of these had their sentence commuted for several years' imprisonment in irons.

A considerable number of persons who had taken a prominent part in the revo-

lution of 1820 had fled the kingdom, to escape the doom which they well knew awaited them. A decree was now published, declaring that any individual convicted of holding, with any of these fugitives, a correspondence tending to disturb the internal tranquillity of the state, should be punished with death and confiscation of property. A similar fate, but without confiscation of goods, was denounced against any person holding a correspondence of the same nature with any person residing in the kingdom. As the clergy were regarded as powerful auxiliaries of the absolute monarch and his ministers, every effort was made to extend their influence; and it was ordained that all parents or guardians should take care that their children attended the congregations, *Di Spiritu Santo*, which were established in the various parishes. Neglect of this decree incurred the penalty of exclusion from all public employment, on the part both of parents and children.

The persons—forty-three in number—who had taken the lead in the military revolt at Monteforte in 1820 were brought to trial before the high court specially appointed for the purpose. Judgment was pronounced on the 10th of September. Thirty of the accused were sentenced to death, and thirteen to imprisonment in irons for twenty-five years. Of the former, only two were executed; four had their sentence commuted to perpetual imprisonment, and sixteen to imprisonment for thirty years. The term of imprisonment awarded to the others was reduced from twenty-five to eighteen years. An apologist for the unjust and cruel proceedings of the Government admits that there was 'more of policy than of clemency in this commutation,' and that 'the feeling which dictated it seems to have been less of mercy towards the criminals than a fear of shocking the public feelings by multiplied executions.' A general amnesty was then proclaimed, from which, however, General William Pepe, and other eminent indi-



viduals, were excepted; and secret societies, and even meetings for the discussion of religious or political subjects, were strictly prohibited under the severest penalties.

A plot was alleged to have been discovered in Sicily for the expulsion of the Austrian troops of occupation from the island. A great number of arrests took place, and nine persons accused of complicity in the conspiracy were tried by a court-martial and sentenced to be shot. A general disarmament of the inhabitants was rigidly enforced. A special commission was appointed to try the revolutionists of 1820. A considerable number of persons were condemned by it to capital punishment or to long terms of imprisonment; and such was the extent to which these proceedings were carried, that it is alleged that in the month of March no fewer than 16,000 individuals were confined in the prisons throughout the island. In Lombardy, which was directly under the Austrian rule, a similar oppressive policy was adopted. A special commission was appointed to try the individuals who were charged with having taken part in the revolutionary movements in the north of Italy. Among these were Silvio Pellico, Count Gonfalonieri, Maroncelli, and other distinguished literary men, who after being condemned to death had their sentences commuted to imprisonment in the castle of Spielberg. The greater part, however, of the accused patriots, among whom were not a few persons of rank and wealth, had saved themselves by flight. They were condemned in absence as 'contumacious,' and their property was sequestered. A tribunal of a similar kind was established in the duchy of Modena. Nine persons were charged with treason and capitally convicted, but only two had been arrested, one of whom, Andreole de I. Posidonio, an eminent professor, was put to death. Other thirty-nine individuals were condemned to the galleys or to imprisonment.

The members of the Holy Alliance were not satisfied with the overthrow of the new

constitution in Spain and in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, they were determined to extend the system of arbitrary control and coercion over the whole continent of Europe. They communicated to the Germanic Diet the circular which had been issued by the Congress at Verona, and the representative of Austria proposed a resolution approving of the proceedings of the Congress and of its circular. But the minister of Wirtemberg refused to concur in the resolution, and was supported by Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt, and to some extent by Bavaria and Hanover.

The allied sovereigns were indignant at the independent spirit exhibited by the government of this small principality, and intimated to the court of Stuttgard their high displeasure that it had tolerated the freedom with which the *German Observer* had discussed political questions; and finding that this intimation of their views produced no effect, they brought the matter under the notice of the Diet. A committee was appointed to investigate the subject, and they reported that the journal in question advocated revolutionary principles regularly and perseveringly. They, therefore, recommended that it should be suppressed by the Diet. The report was approved by a great majority, and the government of Wirtemberg, unable to resist the decree of their powerful neighbours, were obliged to carry it into effect. Bavaria, also, which had hitherto exhibited a liberal spirit, was now compelled to adopt a restrictive policy, both in regard to the press and to the associations of students. More offensive and ominous still was the interference of these allied despots with the Swiss cantons, who were obliged by similar pressure to place restrictions on the liberty of the press, and to expel from the Swiss territory all French, Italian, and Piedmontese refugees. It seemed at this period that freedom was completely crushed throughout the whole Continent, and the various countries subjected to the unlimited control of an iron despotism.

